

Also, a memorial of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity, favoring the Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, memorial of Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity, urging increased compensation for Federal employees and indorsing the Keating bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. FOCHT: Evidence in support of House bill 8060, for the relief of William J. Shirley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8050, for the relief of Abraham Boudier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8056, for the relief of Martin L. Rex; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8051, for the relief of John H. Condon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8059, for the relief of Henry L. Wolfe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8048, for the relief of Sarah E. Hood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8055, for the relief of Henry S. Rider; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8054, for the relief of Samuel Hess; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8046, for the relief of Lucien W. Sieber; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8043, for the relief of John F. De Wire; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8058, for the relief of Amos M. Stroh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HILLIARD: Petition of Margaret Long, M. D., M. Jean Gale, M. D., Margaret Donaldson, Nettie A. Donaldson, Clara M. Moore, M. D., Annie R. Grossmann, Nettie G. Kline, Ella Dufer, Ida Beers, M. D., Frances A. Higinbotham, Mary A. Donovan, Dorothy Donovan, Ellen C. Messinger, Mary K. Messinger, D. E. Wetzel, M. D., F. Woodward, Della B. Johnston, Anna H. Strang, Mary E. Gacks, Garnet Isabel Pelton, Elsie Sedge Pratt, M. D., M. Ethel Fraser, M. D., Mildred L. Beatty, Mary G. Beatty, Mrs. John C. Graham, E. A. Ramsey, Olga M. Oakes, E. W. Brewster, Julia Tyler Davis, Estelle Mathews, Lenore V. Cooper, Mary E. Bennett, M. L. McFarren, Lillie Angerman, L. C. Olmsted, Cora E. Dodge, Lydia B. Nye, Mary A. Hollingsworth, Mrs. Edith Davis, Mrs. Eva S. Rinkle, Louise W. Frazer, Ella Harper, Eva Stoneman, Ethel Armstrong, Theodora Mussey, Mrs. Margaret Smith, Mrs. L. Alice Stile, Lottie S. Gardiner, Mrs. R. E. Ridelle, Annie Hayner, and Mrs. Frank C. Wilder, all of Denver, Colo., urging the immediate adoption of the national suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, letter from G. E. Brown, superintendent Greeley (Colo.) public schools, urging the creation of a department of education; to the Committee on Education.

Also, letter from Virginia D. Hyde-Vogl, urging the adoption of House bill 1654, providing an increase of pay for post-office clerks and letter carriers; to the Committee on the Post Office and post roads.

By Mr. KAHN: Papers to accompany a bill to increase the pension of J. Murray Bailey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Memorial of Just Government League of Maryland, urging a favorable vote on the suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, telegrams and letters from the following citizens of Maryland, asking favorable action on suffrage amendment: R. H. Tillman, Florence R. Sabin, A. Morris Carley, Margaret T. Carey, Olympia Brown, Maud S. Weeks, Minnie L. Henry, B. C. Y. Hogue, Josephine C. Thomas, Ella Roberts, Hilda Roberts, A. S. Roberts, Ellen Price, Henrietta Haggerty, V. C. McNabb, M. Goldenberg, Julius Goldenberg, Clara E. Benson, Helena Geer, and J. E. Greiner; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, letters of Lyon, Conklin & Co., S. Halle Sons, the Marcus W. Wolf Co., and Dietrich Bros., all of Baltimore, Md., asking that Congress do not repeal recent legislation increasing postal rates on second-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of Baltimore Meat Packers' Association, Baltimore, Md., favoring House bill 1654; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, letter of Joseph A. Busey, urging the formation of a pharmaceutical corps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, letters of L. P. Morton, Charles H. Clark, and Charles E. Read, all of Baltimore, Md., asking support for legislation increasing compensation of Government employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. LUFKIN: Resolutions adopted by the Haverhill Chamber of Commerce, Haverhill, Mass., relating to the proposed new postage rates on periodicals; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: Resolutions of Warren Equal Suffrage League, Warren, R. I., and the Jamestown Equal Suffrage League, Jamestown, R. I., desiring a favorable vote on the suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Belmar, N. J., favoring the national prohibition amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a resolution by the First Unitarian Church of Orange County, Orange, N. J., asking Congress to pass, as a war measure, a law prohibiting manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages and to compensate those who would suffer financial loss as a result of the law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolutions of New Jersey Branch of the National Woman's Party of a mass meeting in Paterson, N. J., and of a mass meeting held in Newark, N. J., favoring the suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, resolutions of Monmouth County (N. J.) Board of Agriculture, asking legislation to supply the farms with sufficient labor, and urging Congress to immediate action to see that farmers get a sufficient supply of fertilizers; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, resolution of Board of Commissioners of Jersey City, N. J., favoring bill providing for increase of salaries of postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, resolution of National Council of American Cotton Manufacturers, favoring liberal appropriations for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and urging the creation of a bureau to develop and extend American foreign trade; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, resolutions of International Typographical Union, at Colorado Springs, Colo., protesting against increase in postal rates for second-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. STINESS: Petition of 70 citizens of South Kingston, R. I., favoring the Federal woman-suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, a petition of 834 men and women of the second congressional district of Rhode Island, requesting favorable action on the Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. TILSON: Petitions of Frank Goetz Bakery Co. and Messrs. Miner, Reed, and Tullock, of New Haven, Conn., protesting against discrimination by the Government in favor of the American Sugar Refining Co.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, January 8, 1918.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, amid conditions that try men's souls and that put to the utmost test the fiber of our national life, we bless Thee for the light that shines upon our pathway and for the assurance of our own hearts that we do not hesitate to confess to the world that our desire as a Nation is only to advance the interests of mankind, to establish peace and brotherhood among men, to extend the borders of Thy kingdom in the earth, and to glorify Thy holy name. We pray Thee to further us in our undertakings in Thy name and give us the assurance that Thou art leading us on to victory. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

LIEU-LAND CLAIMS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, in response to a resolution of December 11, 1917, copies of various papers in connection with forest lieu selection No. 2904, involving lands claimed by Alma De Long and others as entrymen or contestants, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. THOMPSON presented a petition of Garfield Post, No. 25, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, of Wichita, Kans., praying for an increase in the pension of veterans of the Civil War, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HARDING presented a petition of sundry citizens of Youngstown, Ohio, praying for the establishment of a pharmaceutical corps in the Army, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. McLEAN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Farmington, Conn., praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Board of Supervisors of Riverside County, Cal., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for flood control and conservation of waters of Santa Ana River running through the counties of San Bernardino, Riverside, and Orange, in that State, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Stockton, Cal., praying for the establishment of a military highway from Blaine, Wash., to San Diego, Cal., which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

TUG RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back with amendments the bill (S. 3009) granting the consent of Congress to the P. M. C. Coal Co. to construct and maintain a bridge across Tug River, connecting Pike County, Ky., and Mingo County, W. Va., and I submit a report (No. 186) thereon. I ask for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendments were, on page 1, lines 5, 6, 7, and 8, to strike out "in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled 'An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters,' approved March 23, 1906"; in line 9, after the words "Tug River," to insert "at a point suitable to the interests of navigation"; and, on page 2, line 2, to strike out the words "the said bridge to be constructed," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the P. M. C. Coal Co., and its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across Tug River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, one end of the said bridge being in Pike County, Ky., near the western portal of Hatfield Tunnel of the Norfolk & Western Railway, and the other end of the said bridge being on the opposite side of Tug River, in Mingo County, in the State of West Virginia, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 3426) to empower the President to requisition timber and timber products for war purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TILLMAN:

A bill (S. 3427) for the relief of certain ex-paymaster's clerks; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 3428) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin S. Waggener; and

A bill (S. 3429) granting an increase of pension to Eri C. Tuller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 3430) granting a pension to Fred T. Macomber (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 3431) granting a pension to Linda H. Lount (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3432) granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Hammond (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there concurrent or other resolutions?

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Chamberlain	Cummins	Fernald
Beckham	Colt	Curtis	Fletcher
Calder	Culberson	Dillingham	Frelinghuysen

Gallinger	Knox	Pomerene	Swanson
Gerry	Lewis	Ransdell	Thomas
Gronna	Lodge	Robinson	Thompson
Hale	McCumber	Shafroth	Tillman
Harding	McKellar	Sheppard	Townsend
Hardwick	McLean	Sherman	Trammell
Hollis	Martin	Shields	Underwood
James	New	Simmons	Vardaman
Johnson, Cal.	Norris	Smith, Ariz.	Warren
Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Smith, Ga.	Watson
Jones, Wash.	Owen	Smith, Md.	Williams
Kellogg	Phelan	Smith, S. C.	
Kenyon	Pittman	Smoot	
King	Poindexter	Sterling	

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. HUGHES] owing to illness.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. SMITH of Michigan]. He is paired with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty-five Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution providing that the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 8th day of January, 1918, at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution from the House of Representatives, which was read:

House concurrent resolution 32.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 8th day of January, 1918, at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate concur in the resolution that has just been laid before the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

SUPPLY OF PRINT PAPER.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate joint resolution 101, the unfinished business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. GALLINGER. This is a very important matter, and I ask that the joint resolution may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read it.

The Secretary read the joint resolution, as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 101) to provide further for the national security and defense by insuring to the Government of the United States an adequate supply of print paper at a fair price and by insuring a supply and equitable distribution at fair prices to the industries of the United States.

Whereas by reason of a state of war now existing it is essential to the national security and defense for the successful prosecution of the war to assure a supply of print paper and its equitable distribution at a fair price in order that the Government of the United States may be assured an adequate supply of paper products and that all proper news may be generally and efficiently disseminated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That the Federal Trade Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to supervise, control, and regulate the production and distribution of print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp in the United States, and that all mills producing and all agencies distributing print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp in the United States shall be operated on Government account; that these products be pooled in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission for the term of the war and the emergency occasioned thereby and equitably distributed at a price based upon cost of production and distribution plus a fair profit per ton, as determined by the Federal Trade Commission; *Provided,* That if the compensation so determined be not satisfactory to the person, company, or corporation entitled to receive the same such person, company, or corporation shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined by the Federal Trade Commission and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as, added to said 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation for such paper, and jurisdiction is hereby conferred on the United States district courts to hear and determine all such controversies.

Sec. 2. That the President is authorized and empowered to take all proper steps to secure the cooperation of the Government of the Dominion of Canada in the creation of a similar agency as herein provided, with like functions; and the Federal Trade Commission is authorized and empowered to act in conjunction with such Canadian agency, when appointed to the end of fully effectuating the objects of this act.

SEC. 3. That the President shall have power by proclamation to declare that imports into the United States during the present war emergency of print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp shall be made only on Government account, to or through the Federal Trade Commission, if and whenever he shall determine such step to be necessary in order to fully effectuate the objects of this act.

SEC. 4. That compliance with all orders and regulations of the Federal Trade Commission made in accordance with this act shall be obligatory on any individual, firm, association, company, corporation, or organized manufacturing industry, or the responsible head or heads thereof, and shall take precedence over all other orders and contracts heretofore placed with such individual, firm, company, association, corporation, or organized manufacturing industry; and any individual, firm, company, association, corporation, or organized manufacturing industry, or the responsible head or heads thereof, failing to comply with the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a felony and upon conviction shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than three years or by a fine of not exceeding \$50,000, or both.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I have had no opportunity to get together the Committee on Printing since this joint resolution was reported. I have had interviews with the Trade Commission and some of the newspaper publishers themselves; and to the joint resolution I wish to offer the amendments which the Secretary will please read as a part of the joint resolution, modifying in a great measure the extreme powers granted in the first instance.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, this is a most important measure, and I ask the Senator if he will not have the amendments printed, because I doubt very much whether he intends to force the passage of the joint resolution to-day. We can then see exactly what effect they will have upon the joint resolution as reported.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I would have no objection that the amendments I have placed in the hands of the Secretary be printed, with a new print of the joint resolution with those proposed amendments in it, they being a substitute for certain parts of the joint resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. That will be all right. I should like to have them read now, and then they will go into the RECORD and we can see them to-morrow morning.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That is what I was asking.

Mr. SMOOT. My suggestion was they be read and then they may be printed immediately.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I have sent to the Secretary the amendments in the order in which they are to be made, and I ask him to read them, so they will appear in the RECORD just exactly as they will appear in the joint resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. That will be all right, then, Mr. President.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That is the request I make.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendments.

The SECRETARY. On page 1, after the word "That," in line 3, strike out down to and including the word "empowered," in line 4, and insert in lieu thereof "whenever during the continuance of the war and for six months thereafter the President shall deem it needful, he may direct the Federal Trade Commission." On page 2, after the word "pulp," in line 2, insert the words "and their products." On page 2, strike out the word "all," on line 2, and insert in lieu thereof the word "such." On page 2, line 3, strike out the word "all" and insert in lieu thereof the word "such." On page 2, line 4, after the word "pulp," insert "and their products." On page 2, line 4, after the word "States," insert the following words "as the President shall designate." On page 2, after the comma, in line 18, insert the words "pulp and pulp products." And strike out all of section 3, page 3, and insert in lieu thereof:

That the President, during the present war emergency, shall have power, by proclamation, to declare that such imports of mechanical and chemical pulp and their products as he shall deem necessary in order to fully effectuate the objects of this act, shall be made only on account of the United States of America, to or through the Federal Trade Commission.

So as to make the joint resolution read:

Whereas by reason of a state of war now existing it is essential to the national security and defense for the successful prosecution of the war to assure a supply of print paper and its equitable distribution at a fair price in order that the Government of the United States may be assured an adequate supply of paper products and that all proper news may be generally and efficiently disseminated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That whenever during the continuance of the war and for six months thereafter the President shall deem it needful, he may direct the Federal Trade Commission to supervise control, and regulate the production and distribution of print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp and their products in the United States, and that such mills producing and such agencies distributing print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp and their products in the United States as the President shall designate shall be operated on Government account; that these products be pooled in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission for the term of the war and the emergency occasioned thereby and equitably distributed at a price based upon cost of production and distribution plus a fair profit per ton, as determined by the

Federal Trade Commission: *Provided*, That if the compensation so determined be not satisfactory to the person, company, or corporation entitled to receive the same such person, company, or corporation shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined by the Federal Trade Commission and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as, added to said 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation for such paper, pulp, and pulp products, and jurisdiction is hereby conferred on the United States district courts to hear and determine all such controversies.

SEC. 2. That the President is authorized and empowered to take all proper steps to secure the cooperation of the Government of the Dominion of Canada in the creation of a similar agency as herein provided, with like functions; and the Federal Trade Commission is authorized and empowered to act in conjunction with such Canadian agency, when appointed to the end of fully effectuating the objects of this act.

SEC. 3. That the President, during the present war emergency, shall have power by proclamation to declare that such imports of mechanical or chemical pulp and their products as he shall deem necessary in order to fully effectuate the objects of this act, shall be made only on account of the United States of America, to or through the Federal Trade Commission.

SEC. 4. That compliance with all orders and regulations of the Federal Trade Commission made in accordance with this act shall be obligatory on any individual, firm, association, company, corporation, or organized manufacturing industry, or the responsible head or heads thereof, and shall take precedence over all other orders and contracts heretofore placed with such individual, firm, company, association, corporation, or organized manufacturing industry; and any individual, firm, company, association, corporation, or organized manufacturing industry, or the responsible head or heads thereof, failing to comply with the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a felony and upon conviction shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than three years or by a fine of not exceeding \$50,000, or both.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, as a concurrent resolution has just been adopted providing that the two Houses shall meet in joint session in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 12.30 o'clock, I ask that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. MARTIN. That is not necessary. When the Senate returns to its Chamber the measure in charge of the Senator from Arizona will be automatically before the Senate.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Then I suggest that some Senator make an appropriate motion.

Mr. MARTIN. That is not necessary.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I will ask my friend, the Senator from Arizona, if he is not willing to let this joint resolution go over until to-morrow. I want to look into it with a good deal of care. I apprehend there will be no disposition at all to unduly hold the joint resolution back, but I should like to examine the amendments in connection with the joint resolution, and I want also to communicate with one or two people who are interested in this matter. I have had no time to do so in the last few days.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I have no objection to that. I do not wish to attempt to rush the joint resolution through without proper consideration by the Senate. The only objection I have on earth to any delay is the fear that the measure may be displaced by some more important matter.

Mr. GALLINGER. Oh, no.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. With the understanding that no effort will be made to do that—

Mr. GALLINGER. We will cooperate with the Senator to see that that is not done.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. With that understanding, I am perfectly willing that the consideration of the joint resolution shall go over until to-morrow, and with the understanding also that the joint resolution will be printed as proposed to be amended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Just a moment. The Chair can not be a party to making arrangements as to the unfinished business. The hands of the Chair must be clean about this matter.

Mr. GALLINGER. Let the joint resolution be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That is the request that I originally made.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be temporarily laid aside.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The hour arriving at which, in accordance with the concurrent resolution, the Senate is to proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives to hear such communication as the President of the United States may be pleased to deliver, the order will now be carried out.

Thereupon the Senate, preceded by its Sergeant at Arms, and headed by the Vice President and Secretary, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the Senate returned to its Chamber and the Vice President resumed the chair.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 765).

The address of the President of the United States, this day delivered at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, is as follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress, once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite programme of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific programme of practical terms was added. That programme proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied,—every province, every city, every point of vantage,—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in the war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week, Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the

vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society, and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs

as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separate in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of

this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

SUPPLY OF PRINT PAPER.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I ask unanimous consent that Senate joint resolution 101, the unfinished business, be taken up and proceeded with.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 101) to provide further for the national security and defense by insuring to the Government of the United States an adequate supply of print paper at a fair price and by insuring a supply and equitable distribution at fair prices to the industries of the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, if the Senate will indulge me with its attention I will briefly—and I hope clearly—explain the purpose of the joint resolution now before us for consideration, and the abuses which led up to the favorable report by the Committee on Printing, which I have had placed on the desks of Senators for a more detailed history of the facts than I feel justified in giving in the brief time I shall consume in this statement of the case.

First. The resolution authorizes the Federal Trade Commission to supervise and control and regulate the production and distribution of print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp in the United States, and all mills making either in the United States shall be operated on Government account during the war, and the products equitably distributed at a fair price by the commission to the Government and other users of the commodity.

As to that I have offered amendments, as the reprint of the joint resolution to-morrow will show.

Second. The President is authorized to secure the cooperation of Canada in the creation of a similar agency, and the Trade Commission empowered to act in conjunction with such agency to fully effectuate the objects of this act.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator permit me? What will be the status of this matter if Canada declines to proceed along the line the joint resolution proposes we shall adopt?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It would result probably in a refusal to permit Canada to import, as the joint resolution further provides.

Mr. GALLINGER. Does the Senator really think that we will ever reach that point?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do not think we will.

Mr. GALLINGER. To prohibit the importation of anything from the Dominion of Canada?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do not think there will be the least trouble. Canada is selling to-day for 2½ cents to their papers and selling to the American papers at 9 and 10 cents.

Mr. GALLINGER. And equally so with American manufacturers.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I know; but we stopped them in a suit; and they pleaded guilty and paid a fine.

Third. The President can, during the war, prevent the importation of print paper or pulp from Canada, except such as is consigned to our Government account, whenever he shall determine such step necessary to effectuate the objects of this act.

Fourth. Plenary power is given the Trade Commission in the premises and severe penalties imposed on those persons or firms failing to comply with the provisions of this act.

It will be observed on reading the resolution that it is made to conform to the views of Congress as expressed in the food-control act in authorizing suits in the United States Court in case the price set by the commission is deemed unfair to the manufacturer. The penalty clause of the resolution finds a just precedent in the national defense act, where like penalties are prescribed in the purchase of military supplies.

Mr. President, there is no doubt of the great and extraordinary powers conferred on the Government of the United States and its instrumentalities in this resolution—powers which if proposed in time of peace or under normal conditions would find no advocate on this floor. But this is no time of peace, and every condition is intensely abnormal. A free press in a Government like ours is absolutely essential not only to the preservation of our liberties but to our very existence as a Government. It is essential as a war measure that the press of the country shall not be suppressed. The general enlightenment of the people is the only guarantee of perpetuity of this Republic. At this time under these conditions, where patriotic

nerve is strained to meet the almost boundless requirements of our country not only in personal service, in taxes, but in life offering itself, we stand appalled before that infamy that would reap personal unearned gain from the country's distress. I have as much respect for a common thief—yes, more than I have for any man or set of men who raise at this time the price of any needed commodity above a fair and legitimate profit. The poor and hungry thief may have some excuse for stealing bread, and his case appeals to human sympathy; but the rich thief, who does not need to plunder, yet steals from the public without mercy and without shame merely to swell his own plethoric pocket and roll in more opulence amid the envy and pain of surrounding want, deserves as little mercy as he shows for others as he moves along this path so nearly touching treason.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator permit me a question?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator recalls the fact that when this joint resolution was introduced and when it was reported I was absent from the city in consequence of illness. I wish to ask the Senator, because I have not the information at hand, whether any hearing was had on the joint resolution?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. There was. The members of the Trade Commission were before the committee.

Mr. GALLINGER. But were the parties interested, the paper manufacturers and dealers, invited to appear before the committee?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. They were not. They were invited to appear before the commission at the time of the report. On the part of the committee, on my part at least, there was no inclination to extend an invitation to them to appear when they had already been invited to appear before the Trade Commission and give all the reasons they had, if any, against the report of the commission and against this proposed legislation.

Mr. GALLINGER. Then I will ask the Senator further, if he will permit me, if the interested parties were heard before the Trade Commission, was that hearing put in print?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Oh, yes.

Mr. GALLINGER. Is the testimony those men gave available?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. We have the report of the commission itself and the correspondence between them.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is the opinion of the Trade Commission, but was the position that those men took, with the representations they made to the Trade Commission, ever put in print?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I have no doubt it was. I do not know whether it was or not.

Mr. SMOOT. No.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have not been able to find it.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I will tell you what was put into the matter to show what they themselves confess they did, and that they themselves rendered a plea of nolle contendere in one of the most infamous trusts and robberies ever perpetrated upon the American people.

Mr. GALLINGER. The word "trust" is a familiar one.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I will show that before I get through, if the Senator will bear with me.

The price of print paper becoming so high and no just cause appearing for the great increase in price, the Senate on April 24, 1916, by resolution directed the Federal Trade Commission to make an investigation of the news-print industries and ascertain whether the price demanded for print paper was justified. The report of the commission is found in Senate Document 49. Read that report and see to what extent impudent and lawless greed can go. The Senator will be enlightened if he will obtain a copy of it. The facts set forth in this report caused the indictment of the members of the News Print Manufacturers' Association in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, and on trial which occurred on the 26th of November, 1917, certain of the defendants on a plea of nolle contendere, were found guilty of violation of the antitrust law, and by a consent judgment the defendants Ed. W. Backus, representing two companies; George H. Meade, Spanish River Co.; George Cahoon, Laurentide Co.; F. J. Sensenbrenner and Philip T. Dodge, International Paper Co., were found guilty and fined in the sum of \$2,500 each and the trust known as the News Print Manufacturers' Association was dissolved by decree of the court and the defendants entered into an agreement of record whereby they were bound until April 1, 1918, to furnish the print paper to the users thereof in rolls by carload lots at \$3 per hundred pounds, f. o. b., and that after said date they would furnish their product at a price to be fixed by the Government, through the Trade Commission.

That this agreement does not give adequate relief is clearly set forth in the following letter received by me from Mr. Colver, of the Trade Commission:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, December 13, 1917.

HON. MARCUS A. SMITH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: We have received your letters of December 8 and December 11, 1917, in regard to the advisability of action on Senate resolution 101. The copy of our letter to Senator KELLOGG, which I took the liberty of forwarding to you, was not sent in response to your inquiry of December 8, but because I knew that you would be interested in our view regarding this matter, being the author of the bill which embodies substantially the recommendations made in our final report.

The letter to Senator KELLOGG, however, covers the matter pretty fully. The agreement which the Department of Justice entered into with certain news-print manufacturers relates only to the price of their news-print paper. It gives no control over the price or distribution of other grades of printing paper, such as book paper, and no control over the price and distribution of chemical and mechanical pulp, which are the principal materials used in making paper. Thus far only three companies in the United States and six or seven in Canada have joined in the agreement. Our last information is that one of the Canadian companies which signed the agreement is undertaking to disavow the act of its representative and withdraw its consent.

The necessity for the enactment of your bill depends upon the conditions of production and consumption which shall prevail and in these abnormal times it seems impossible to foretell accurately what changes the next few months will bring. The best informed persons in the industry differ radically regarding the future course of the market. Because of the uncertainties in the situation it seems to us that the wisest course is to have this legislation enacted at the earliest opportunity. If the commission finds that it can control the situation without the exercise of the powers granted thereby, it will not invoke them. The mere possession of such powers to be used in case of emergency would in itself help to give assurance and stabilize conditions.

If you should desire to have us do so, we would be glad to appear before your committee at any time to give whatever information we can relative to this matter.

Very truly, yours,

WILLIAM B. COLVER,
Commissioner.

The letter sent to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] is as follows:

DECEMBER 6, 1917.

DEAR SIR: The commission has your inquiry of December 3, 1917, regarding the present status of the print-paper matter.

In connection with our investigation of the news-print-paper industry, we obtained certain records tending to show violation of the Sherman law, which were turned over to the Department of Justice in January, 1917. Largely on the basis of this evidence the Department of Justice secured indictments against a number of news-print-manufacturers in April, 1917. The case came to trial in November, and after the jury had been drawn a settlement was reached. The indicted manufacturers entered a plea of nolle contendere and signed an agreement with the Attorney General providing, among other things, that the price of their standard news print would be \$3 per hundred pounds f. o. b. mill for rolls in carload lots from January 1 to April 1, 1918, after which date the price on all grades of news print should be determined by the Federal Trade Commission for the continuance of the war.

This agreement will give the commission control over the news-print-paper prices of three manufacturers in the United States and six or seven in Canada, who have signed it. The agreement gives the commission no control over the distribution of news-print paper or over the price and distribution of chemical and mechanical wood pulp, from which the paper is made. If as a result of abnormal conditions a severe shortage should occur the commission would be unable to prevent those publishers who were not protected by contracts from suspending publication. If, on the other hand, the production keeps pace with consumption the powers conferred upon the commission by the agreement will be sufficient to accomplish much good.

It may be that your inquiry is moved by the pending Smith bill, which was reported favorably by the Committee on Printing. The commission feels that the enactment of this bill will be of great benefit. Should conditions improve and become tolerable the law need not be invoked; should they become intolerable, on the other hand, it will be well to have the law ready to hand. If the law is enacted that very fact will tend to make its invocation unnecessary.

Very truly, yours,

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

I see no need of amplifying the statement thus clearly made in these letters. The decree dissolving the trust and the agreement between the manufacturers and the Government each went a great way in breaking the strangle hold these "gentlemen" had on the throats of their victims, but did not by any means give the full relief to which the Government and all other purchasers of print paper were and are entitled.

The intolerable condition of the print-paper purchasers before the report of the Trade Commission was made public is fully set forth in Senate Report No. 49, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, and the facts are also fairly well collected in the report on this resolution.

I have these facts to which I have just alluded before me, and I read them.

Before submitting its report to the Senate the Trade Commission undertook an arbitration between the manufacturers of print paper and the publishers whereby immediate relief might be had on a basis that would prevent serious financial distress and injury to the publishers and at the same time assure a fair

compensation to the manufacturers of paper. In the course of this negotiation the principal manufacturers of news-print paper submitted a formal proposition to the commission requesting it to fix upon a fair and reasonable price for their product and agreeing to abide by such findings. The commission promptly fixed upon 2½ cents per pound, car lots, f. o. b. mill, as a fair and reasonable price for news-print paper, but, subsequent to this finding, several of the largest manufacturers withdrew from the arbitration and no substantial or permanent relief has yet been obtained for the newspaper publishers. However, the Government itself has profited from the findings of the Trade Commission in that the President, at the suggestion of the Joint Committee on Printing, has exercised his authority under the national-defense act to purchase news-print paper required for certain war publications at the price fixed upon by the Trade Commission. Therefore it seems all the more important that Congress should not delay longer in securing the same measure of justice for the newspaper publishers of the country.

There are 2,000 small dailies and some 14,000 weekly newspapers in the United States that have to depend largely on the open market for their supplies of news print. In the latter part of 1916 many of these smaller papers had extreme difficulty in obtaining a supply of paper except at prices which, if maintained, will drive them out of business, and yet the Federal Trade Commission, which spent more than a year investigating the news-print situation, reports to Congress that—

The efforts of the commission to restore competitive conditions in the news-print industry expeditiously and to arbitrate and effectively project a fair price for news-print paper have failed.

The Federal Trade Commission in its report states that at prices now prevailing news print will cost the publishers in 1917 more than \$105,000,000, which is an increase of \$35,000,000, or 50 per cent. The commission further declares that one-half of this \$35,000,000 increase in paper cost, or \$17,500,000, alone represents additional profits to the manufacturers.

VAST PROFITS OF PAPER COMPANIES.

The International Paper Co., of New York, which produces nearly 40 per cent of the news print made in the United States, and thereby largely fixes its price, is reported to have added \$7,465,827 to its profits in 1916, an increase of \$4,344,146 over its profits for 1915. It is likewise interesting to note that the common stock of the International Paper Co. jumped from 9¼ to 75¼ in 1916 and recently was quoted around 35, while its preferred stock ranged in 1916 from 42½ to 109¼, the current quotations being about 65. Unless Congress takes some such action as here proposed, the International will likewise get the lion's share out of the \$17,500,000 of additional profits, which the Federal Trade Commission reports are in sight this year for the news-print manufacturers.

In connection with the vast profits now being made by the manufacturers of news-print paper the report of the committee on paper of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association states:

There is not a single paper mill which has been built in the United States or Canada in the last 10 years which has not made 15 to 20 per cent on the money invested. The very fact that stock jobbers and watered-stock promoters are able to get away with so much in the paper business is prima facie evidence that the margins are more than liberal. Many companies have millions of dollars of water stock, which was only promotion and organization bonus stock. Under the liberal profits being made this stock is in many cases worth away above par.

That the News Print Manufacturers' Association at the time of the indictment of its members was an impudent, lawless, unconscionable trust is fully shown in the record of the trial of these freebooters. The indictment to which the defendants entered the plea "nolo contendere" set forth the following amazing facts. They agreed among themselves in carrying on their business and trade—

(a) To refrain from competing with each other for new customers for their paper;

(b) To refrain from competing with each other as to the quality of paper to be sold in said trade and commerce;

(c) To refrain from competing with each other as to delivery of, and furnishing storage for, paper sold but not delivered;

(d) To refrain from competing with each other as to terms of credit, rate of interest upon open accounts, the dates of the beginning and ending of contract years, the methods of making sales of such paper through salesmen, dealers, and jobbers, the payment of return freight upon the cores upon which their paper should be wrapped, payment of charges for cartage, and allowing of claims for waste or damaged paper;

(e) To engage in simultaneous representations to the public, to their customers, and to each other, of alleged increased cost of manufacture and of alleged shortages of such paper;

(f) To manufacture insufficient quantities of such paper;

(g) To cooperate in discouraging the erection of new mills or the installation of new machinery for the manufacture of such paper;

(h) To cooperate in preventing new concerns from competing with the corporate defendants by transferring orders and contracts for such paper to new concerns on condition that such new concerns should not compete with the corporate defendants;

(i) To cooperate in preventing other manufacturers of news-print paper from competing with the corporate defendants;

(j) To furnish from time to time to said News Print Manufacturers' Association, at 18 East Forty-first Street, in the Borough of Manhattan, and in said southern district of New York, for the information of the individual defendants. Full and complete information and data concerning their contracts with their customers and the quantity of such paper manufactured, carried in stock, or sold by them in relation to the capacity of their several plants and other details of their several businesses.

BAR TO COMPETITION.

(6) The corporate defendants submitted to such regulations, rules, and decisions, in the carrying on of their said trade and commerce, notwithstanding the fact that because the corporate defendants were independent of each other, they should and, but for said unlawful combination, they would have competed freely and fully with each other as to all said matters and should and would have conducted their said trade and commerce free from such regulations, rules, and decisions.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I wish to ask the Senator when these associations reached this agreement among themselves, if he knows?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Here it is [exhibiting]. I have the proceedings of the trial contained in the Editor and Publisher. It is as follows:

In the spring of 1915, at the suggestion of the defendant, Sensenbrenner, and with the cooperation of the other defendants, the organization which they had up to that time was done away with and this new organization was inaugurated, known as the News Print Manufacturers' Association, and Steele was appointed as its manager, at the rather moderate stipend, considering his duties, of \$24,000 a year salary.

They did not know whether they ought to incorporate or not, in order to carry out the purposes, but they concluded to act as a company without incorporation, and appointed a general manager and five directors. They sent directions to each of the paper manufacturers to return reports on the cost of producing paper, and not to be particular in making it too low, but to report to the world the highest possible cost they could squeeze out of it, so as to show the necessity for this raise which they contemplated and the raise that they did make.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona further yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Certainly the statement which the Senator has made is a most remarkable one and discloses a remarkable condition of affairs which it is the duty of this Congress to put an end to.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Here [exhibiting] is what one of the investigators states, and it is stated by the attorney who tried the case also:

I have calculated, in the light of the Federal Trade Commission's report, that these defendants, the news-print manufacturers, have reaped a profit of at least \$15,000,000 in a short period of time; and it seems to me that to let anybody else throughout this industrial country know that in order to make \$15,000,000 worth of exorbitant profits in contravention of the law, all you have to do is to incur a fine of \$5,000.

They agreed to pay \$2,500 and have the case dismissed, and that they would enter into this agreement, which they did enter into with the Federal Trade Commission.

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do.

Mr. HOLLIS. I should like to inquire of the Senator if this very astonishing agreement which he has read to the Senate was in writing and signed by the parties to it?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. No; it was not in writing signed by the parties, but it was ascertained from the facts which were disclosed by the record, and which the Trade Commission found did exist, and it was made the charge in the indictment in which

they plead nolle contendere. They have not denied a line of it nor have they denied a single one of the facts which were set out in the report of the Trade Commission, to which I have alluded, when they were indicted and appeared in court, nor from that day to this have they denied a single allegation of fact which the Trade Commission has made against them, even as to the absolutely unearned profits of \$17,000,000 which they reaped.

Their conduct is particularly conspicuous in comparison with the views expressed by other American business men who, at the recent Atlantic City convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, adopted resolutions urging Government price fixing for all essential products, not only in sales to the Government but to the public as well, and advocating a general Government purchasing department, which, in addition to fixing prices, would have power to distribute the output of industries in a manner most necessary to the conduct of the war. The resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States gave further expressions to the loyalty of the business men, as follows:

It is the spirit of American business, that however fundamental may be the change in the relation of Government to business, the Government should have the power during the period of the war to control prices and the distribution of production for public and private needs to whatever extent may be necessary for our great national purpose.

The resolution giving the Federal Trade Commission power to supervise, control, and regulate the production and distribution of print paper is in full accord with the position taken by these patriotic American business men at their Atlantic City convention.

The demand for favorable action on the pending resolution comes from nearly every newspaper in the country.

I had presented to me this morning a petition from newspapers of every State in the Union, and I think from every congressional district, and they are not half of those who have also petitioned for the passage of this joint resolution, as they have said, through the trade press. I have copies of the petitions somewhere in my desk of 800 or more of the local newspapers which have paid or attempted to pay the price these people were charging them and whose editors are asking relief from these unconscionable exactions.

The press of the country and the Government itself are entitled to fair play and just treatment in regard to this great necessary product. This resolution will afford proper relief without injury to just trade.

By indorsing the proposition for Government control over the production and distribution of print paper during the war the newspaper publishers have indicated that they have no fear whatever of the Government censorship under such plan. What the newspapers do fear, and justly so, is that their very existence may be placed in jeopardy by the paper combine, which already, by its greed for excessive profits, has forced hundreds of the smaller newspapers throughout the country to discontinue publication. Could any Government censorship be more drastic or fatal to a free press than that which the indicted paper clique already has exercised for their own selfish interest?

The committee submits the resolution for the consideration of the Senate with the question whether it is better to safeguard the continuance of a free press in this country by assuring it an adequate supply of print paper at a fair and reasonable price or whether to permit a further increase in the excessive profits of the paper industry, which the Federal Trade Commission declares is about to exact \$17,500,000 more in excessive profits from the American publishers who are loyally and patriotically supporting their Government in this fateful hour?

Mr. LEWIS. Seventeen million dollars annually?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes, sir; \$17,000,000 annually; \$13,000,000 or so in about six months.

Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate much longer, but there is one thing to which I should like to call attention before I forget it.

Mr. GALLINGER. If he desires to put something more into the Record, I shall not interrupt until he does so.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I have not given up the floor at all.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, as I said a moment ago, and I beg to reassure the Senator from Arizona, I do not propose to present any factious opposition to this measure. If it is wise, I want to vote for it just as much as does the Senator from Arizona; but I want some information. In the daily press of Washington I find this clipping:

Commissioner W. B. Colver, of the Federal Trade Commission, announced to-day—

That was two days ago, I think—

that plans were rapidly maturing for the hearings beginning January 7 in connection with the news-print price agreement, which several manufacturers recently made with the Department of Justice. A general invitation has been extended to all publishers and jobbers to participate and from replies it is expected a large number will attend.

The manufacturers will present information supplementary to their cost reports bearing on such matters as the hazards of the business, methods of determined wood costs, and depreciation charges. It is probable that information will also be given on what is a fair investment in the business and what is a fair rate of profit on such investment.

The afternoon of January 9—

That is to-morrow—

has been set for a conference with the jobbers, at which the provisions of the agreement in which they are interested will be considered.

So it seems, Mr. President, that while we are considering this joint resolution the Federal Trade Commission is having a hearing, and they are having a hearing, as I understand—if I am wrong the Senator from Arizona will correct me—on an agreement that was reached between the Attorney General of the United States and the manufacturers and jobbers of news-print paper that they will furnish during the war news-print paper at a price satisfactory to the Department of Justice. Is that a fact?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Not altogether. It is true that the investigation is still going on. There is, however, no necessity for investigation in regard to the agreement, for that is of record. That agreement promised on the part of the paper makers that they would furnish paper f. o. b. at 3 cents a pound at the mill up to the 1st day of April next, and, in consideration of the dismissal of the indictment, when they accepted a moderate fine and the dissolution of their trust, they agreed that after the 1st day of April the Federal Government, through the Federal Trade Commission, should set the price of roll print paper. It applies to nothing else. I have a letter received a few days ago from Mr. Colver in regard to the joint resolution itself, and I saw him yesterday.

I imagine that what the Post alludes to is that there may be under way a preliminary investigation as to what is the fairest and best thing to do when this agreement of record shall have expired. I imagine that is the reference. Otherwise the Trade Commission is anxious for the passage of this measure. It is less drastic than originally drawn, as the Senator will perceive from the amendments which have been offered to the joint resolution. It has no purpose to take control, except where it becomes essential to take control. So, I take it, that the proposed legislation very much will relieve the situation. Mr. Colver, of the Trade Commission, hoped that with the power given them they could probably negotiate with the paper men, acting in perfect frankness, and they could set reasonable prices, satisfactory both to the publishers and to the manufacturers of paper. My hope is that they can do so, and I believe they will do so. I am certain they can do so under this resolution.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, does not the Senator think that they can do so without passing this joint resolution?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. No, sir; for two of the gentlemen in the agreement, or one of them at least, already, as I am informed, has been trying to back out of it; and I see also that 67 or 68, instead of 6 or 7, have now begun to join together in some kind of an understanding. The dissolution of the Paper Trust strikes me on its face as being something like the dissolution of the Beef Trust, when the packers quit the Beef Trust, but became a Stockyards Trust, which is much more prolific of trouble than was the original trust.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will join with the Senator in the expressed belief that the dissolution of the great trusts has not done the American people much good.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Not much.

Mr. GALLINGER. Now, I want to ask the Senator one or two questions—

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEWIS in the chair). Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Certainly.

Mr. BORAH. What trust has been dissolved?

Mr. GALLINGER. We have been told that the Standard Oil Trust was dissolved on a certain occasion, although I believe the Standard Oil Co. has prospered more than ever before because of that wonderful dissolution that took place. I wanted to ask the Senator from Arizona one or two other practical questions, and I do not do it to annoy the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I appreciate that fact.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator is always courteous, and I want to be equally so. Has the Senator information that at the present time print paper is being sold in the United States at from one-half to one-third of the price which is being paid for it in Great Britain to-day?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I know that is not true, so far as the record and the investigations made in respect to Canada show. In that country print paper is sold a good deal cheaper than in the United States.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am talking about Great Britain.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I presume that Great Britain has great difficulty in getting news-print paper at any price. I doubt whether she can get it at all.

Mr. GALLINGER. One other point: The Senator has improved the joint resolution beyond a doubt by the amendments which he has offered. Has the Senator given very careful consideration to the question of withholding a portion of the price and sending these people to the courts to establish their rights to some added compensation? The Senator is a business man and he must know that that provision will work great hardship to these people. They may not get money enough to pay the cost of manufacture if they only get two-thirds, and they will probably be forced into the market to secure capital, which is not an easy matter to do at the present time. The Senator may not answer this, but I want him to give consideration to the question whether or not when the Government or somebody arbitrarily fixes the price at which these people shall sell their product and they have no redress from that they ought not to be given the entire amount awarded to them by this arbitrary tribunal?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. No; I do not think so, and I do not think the Senator will think so if he will reflect a moment.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have reflected.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It would cause them to begin speculating in the decisions of the courts from the very start; they would get all the money accorded them and gamble on getting more. It is a matter of merely providing that a fair amount of the money shall be held back. I am not particular about the amount being 25 per cent. If that is thought to be too much, let it be changed, although, as a general rule, in dealing with the Government on disputed accounts that is the amount withheld. A provision to that effect has been put in several bills recently.

Mr. GALLINGER. It has been done in some cases, yes.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I presume the Senator is alluding probably to the fact set forth by the grand mogul of the paper companies, Mr. Philip T. Dodge, the president of the International Paper Co., in which he states, in a letter of recent date, that no mill in America could remain out of bankruptcy under this provision. If they were getting full compensation—grant that they were—and they concluded that they wanted to sue, as it is not impossible with men who did what these gentlemen did to get money, they would probably not hesitate to sue for all they thought they could get.

In this connection, in regard to injuring the industry, I should like to say, in answer to Mr. Dodge's letter—and if I had had time I would have answered him respectfully—that these people never denied one fact brought out by the Trade Commission. I am informed that they were asked to come before the Trade Commission, and that their own financial reports show that their profits were just about what the Trade Commission said they were; that is, some \$17,000,000, or in excess of 19 per cent. They did not deny the allegation that they made a profit of this amount. I thought perhaps that out of the \$17,000,000—and \$13,000,000 previously—they had probably saved enough to enable them to stand the holding back of 25 per cent on a disputed account. However, I am not so anxious that the amount withheld shall be 25 per cent. All I want is something to deter them from gambling in lawsuits and that is all it amounts to.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I am glad to hear the Senator say that he has not fixed in his mind that the amount ought to be 25 per cent. These men may have saved a good deal of money. I do not know anything about that; but they have been in the hands of the Attorney General, and the courts are open to prosecute them. They were found to be a trust. I do not know whether the trust was dissolved or not. I believe the Senator says it was; but I really do not think that in our legislation we ought to penalize them because they may have saved a little money, which very likely they have lost between that time and now, for they may have gone into some other speculation that was not so profitable.

I simply wanted the Senator's opinion on that point, and he has given it frankly. I do think that it may prove to be a great hardship, especially to the smaller concerns—and we have a great many of them in the United States—to be compelled to live under a provision—a penalizing clause, I would call it—that they can only be paid a portion of what is adjudged to be their right and that then they can go to the courts, and, if they can supply money enough and live long enough and employ lawyers enough, they may get something further.

Mr. President, I think upon candid reflection the Senator will not feel that he ought to disassociate the men who are engaged in this business from all the rest of the people of this

country and declare them to be rogues and scoundrels and violators of law, and hence that they have no place before the Congress of the United States when they appeal to us to give them what they, I think, feel is fair play. I do not know one of them; I have not seen one of them, now or in the past, and hence I hold no brief for them. I want to vote fairly on this question, but I want to vote intelligently. That is the reason why I asked the questions that I have asked, and for no other purpose.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I think the Senator will bear me out, as far as he has noticed my record, in the statement that I have never been one of those yelling about somebody because he had money; but it is not altogether wrong, and I do not think even the subject of criticism, to call attention to the conduct of men who in the stress of occasions like this use their combined power to oppress. They certainly did it or they would not have paid the fines and consented to the dissolution of their organization as they did.

I shall incorporate the judgment of the court in that case in the RECORD with my remarks.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This cause came on to be heard at this term and was argued by counsel; and thereupon, upon consideration thereof, and upon the contents hereto in writing and in open court by the defendants, George H. Mead, Philip T. Dodge, George Chahoon, Jr., Gordias H. P. Gould, Edward W. Backus, Alexander Smith, Frank J. Sensenbrenner, Abitibi Power & Paper Co. (Ltd.), Belgo-Canadian Pulp & Paper Co. (Ltd.), Brompton Pulp & Paper Co., Donnan-Paper Co. (Ltd.), Gould Paper Co., International Paper Co., Kimberly-Clark Co., Laurentide Co. (Ltd.), Minnesota & Ontario Paper Co., Price Bros. & Co. (Ltd.), and Spanish River Pulp & Paper Mills (Ltd.), and upon the unanimous resolution of the executive committee of the News Print Manufacturers' Association consenting to the dissolution of said association and consenting to this decree, and said consents having been duly given by their respective solicitors to the entry of this decree before any testimony has been taken, it was ordered, adjudged, and decreed as to said defendants so consenting as follows, viz:

(1) Defendants, by becoming and acting as members of the News Print Manufacturers' Association, have entered into and engaged in an unlawful combination in restraint of trade and commerce in news-print paper among the several States and with foreign nations in violation of the act of July 2, 1890, entitled "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies."

(2) The News Print Manufacturers' Association is an unlawful combination of the defendants in restraint of the trade and commerce in news-print paper among the several States and with foreign nations in violation of said act of July 2, 1890, and said News Print Manufacturers' Association shall be, and it hereby is, dissolved.

(3) Each corporate defendant is hereby perpetually enjoined from carrying into further effect the combination hereby dissolved and from entering into or engaging in any like combination having for purpose or effect (a) the elimination or restriction by concert of action of competition in news-print paper, or (b) the concerted working for materially higher prices for news-print paper, or (c) the establishment by concert of action of uniform prices, terms, or conditions for the sale of news-print paper, or (d) the concerted working to discourage others from manufacturing news-print paper.

(4) Each corporate defendant is hereby perpetually enjoined from entering into any combination, agreement, understanding, or concert of action with any other corporate defendant or with any other manufacturer of news-print paper having for purpose or effect (a) to limit or restrict itself as to the customers to whom it should sell or offer to sell news-print paper, (b) to limit or restrict itself as to the quality or quantity of news-print paper it should make or sell, (c) to limit or restrict itself as to the service it should render to its customers or the prices, terms, or conditions upon which it should sell or offer to sell news-print paper.

(5) The injunctions herein contained against the corporate defendants shall apply to and be binding upon such corporations and their respective officers, directors, agents, and employees and all other persons, firms, or corporations acting under, for, or in behalf of them, or any of them, or claiming so to act.

(6) Each individual defendant is hereby perpetually enjoined from entering into, engaging in, or carrying into further effect any contract, combination, or conspiracy having for purpose or effect to regulate, dominate, or restrict the trade or commerce in news-print paper of any person, firm, or corporation other than the firms or corporations with which such individual defendant is or may be connected as an officer, agent, or employee.

(7) Nothing herein contained shall prevent the defendants from entering into and performing a certain contract of even date with the Attorney General of the United States, as trustee, made for the purpose of meeting the emergencies created by existing conditions and by the present state of war in the United States. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed an adjudication for or against the exercise of control by any corporate defendant of any of its subsidiaries as set forth in the petition, nor for or against the right of certain of the defendants or their subsidiaries to avail themselves of the services of the Canadian Export Paper Co. (Ltd.) or the G. H. Mead Co. or the Minnesota & Ontario Paper Co. in the manner and to the extent now being availed of as set forth in the petition herein.

(8) The court retains jurisdiction to proceed against the defendants not hereby consenting to this decree and to enforce this decree and to enable any of the parties to apply to the court for modification hereof, if it be hereafter shown to the satisfaction of the court that by reason of changed conditions or changes in the statute law of the United States the provisions hereof have become inappropriate or inadequate to maintain competitive conditions in the interstate or foreign trade or commerce of the United States in news-print paper or have become unduly oppressive to defendants or any of them and are no longer necessary to secure or maintain competitive conditions in such trade or commerce.

Dated New York City, N. Y., November 26, 1917.

JULIUS M. MAYER,
United States District Judge for the
Southern District of New York.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Certainly.

Mr. SMOOT. I will ask the Senator if it is not a fact, however, that the agreement that was made between the paper manufacturers and the Federal Trade Commission to sell paper at a certain price per pound was not violated by the paper manufacturers until after the Attorney General had begun suit against the very paper manufacturers that had entered into the agreement?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I think the Senator is mistaken in that.

Mr. SMOOT. I am quite sure I am not mistaken, Mr. President.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The Senator may be right. I am not charging that he is not, but I have heard differently. I am not so confident about the sources of my information as the Senator himself may be, but I know that they did commence immediately violating the 24-cent agreement. Whether or not it was done by reason of the Attorney General bringing suit and this indictment against them I do not know.

Mr. SMOOT. I agree with the Senator that the agreement was repudiated by the paper manufacturers; but it was not repudiated until after the Attorney General had started suit against the very manufacturers that had entered into this agreement with the Federal Trade Commission.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes; but that did not justify them in violating a subsequent contract.

Mr. SMOOT. They thought they were dealing with a part of the Government that had a perfect right to make the agreement, and another part of the Government immediately started suit against them as a trust and for the dissolution of the company.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. There is not any doubt about that.

Mr. SMOOT. Now, I want to ask the Senator another question in this connection while we are on the subject: Is it not a fact that the price of print paper—I mean the great bulk of it that is sold in the United States to-day—has not increased in price as great as many other commodities have increased in the United States since the breaking out of the war?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Oh, very likely; I do not know. I could not say whether that is true or not.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say now, for the RECORD, that that is the case.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. If it be true that they have already killed a big part of the demand, I might account for it in that way.

Mr. SMOOT. I wish they could kill a great deal more of the demand for the purposes for which news-print paper is being used to-day. For instance, the Senator knows that on Sunday morning he can pick up a paper from any of the great cities of the United States and it is almost all he can do to put it under his arm, and all the real news that is in the paper could be printed in 12 pages.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is in the first 12 pages.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; as the Senator from Georgia suggests, it is in the first 12 pages.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Easily.

Mr. SMOOT. The Sunday papers consume nearly 20 per cent more paper than ought to be consumed by the press of this country.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I am glad the Senator makes that criticism, in which I most heartily concur, for, in my judgment, if there ever was an exhibition of absolute waste, it is in these 50 and 60 and 70 page Sunday papers, with their Sunday magazines.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will not the Senator add to that the absolute and indefensible waste of which the Congress of the United States is guilty?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. There is not a doubt about that, either, and we ought to try as hard as we can to curtail it from now on. I certainly shall do whatever I can to accomplish it.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; that is certainly the case, when we know to-day that the amount of paper that is to be purchased for the Government of the United States for the coming fiscal year has increased by 400 per cent in quantity.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I think more than that.

Mr. SMOOT. Four hundred per cent in quantity; and as to the price, the advance runs all the way from 50 per cent up to 150 per cent, and in some particular instances higher than that.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I only want to recur for a moment to those who have favored this legislation, aside from the thousands of petitioners that have written to the Congress, many of them to me, publishers all over the country.

The National Editorial Association, at its annual convention in Minneapolis on July 11 of last year, adopted resolutions urging the Federal Trade Commission to take over and operate American news-print mills and thus reduce the price of news-print paper. The Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association, in convention at Asheville, N. C., about the same date, adopted a resolution on the same subject. Both of these I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Resolutions of National Editorial Association.]

Whereas for the past 18 months there has been a determined and persistent effort on the part of the print-paper manufacturers and jobbers to create a panic market for print paper; and

Whereas for several months they have succeeded in making the publishers believe that there was good and sufficient reasons for the extraordinary prices they were charging, but during the past seven or eight months it has been clearly demonstrated by the investigations of the Federal Trade Commission and by your legislative committee that there was, and is, no good reason for the large advances made, as the Trade Commission clearly demonstrated that there had been but a very slight increase in the cost of manufacture: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Editorial Association in convention assembled at Minneapolis calls upon Congress to pass legislation immediately that will give the Federal Trade Commission power to fix prices and operate the mills and distribute the print paper manufactured in the United States during the period of the present war in accordance with the recommendations of the Trade Commission in its report to Congress; and further be it

Resolved, That arrangements be made with the Canadian Government so that the print paper manufactured in Canada and shipped into this country shall also be handled by the Trade Commission in order that all the publishers of the United States may be provided with sufficient paper at a reasonable price.

[Resolution of Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association.]

Resolved, That the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association, representing 105 leading daily newspapers of the South, in convention assembled, unqualifiedly approves and strongly urges the immediate adoption of the complete plans of the print-paper committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to empower the Federal Trade Commission by legislative enactment to control the production of news-print paper, to pool its distribution, and to fix its price.

This action is absolutely necessary to conserve the best interest of our Government and our people under the present extraordinary emergency.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The Georgia Weekly Press Association likewise adopted a resolution at its meeting in Thomasville, Ga., on July 16 to 18, indorsing the action of the Federal Trade Commission in urging Government control of print paper.

The New York State Press Association at its meeting in Ithaca on June 29 adopted a resolution indorsing the action of the Federal Trade Commission in recommending Government control of print-paper mills; and various others have done likewise.

Mr. Hosmer, chairman of the legislative committee of the National Editorial Association, says:

The smaller newspapers are particularly thankful to the Trade Commission at this time for the paper they have furnished them since last April, even though the big manufacturers, who agreed to furnish paper at a reasonable price, failed. Independent mills have furnished the paper through the commission to newspapers in more than 20 States at prices from 25 to 33½ per cent under the prices quoted by jobbers and mills direct. In some cases this paper has been distributed through designated jobbers, who have been paid about 10 per cent for handling; in other cases through State associations or committees from associations, who have handled it as a patriotic duty, without expense to the newspaper men.

The Canadian Government, at the time of this finding of the Trade Commission, had undertaken to control the production and distribution of news-print paper through its orders in council; and I hear that the government of each one of the nations now at war has control of its news-print paper.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, they virtually control it by controlling the size of the issue of every paper and every publication.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. But the Canadian Government has undertaken to control the production and distribution of news-print paper through its orders in council.

Mr. SMOOT. That is true.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It is stated that a pool is actually in existence in Canada, the news-print manufacturers selling to Canadian publishers at \$2.50 per hundred and charging \$3 per hundred when shipped outside of Canada. In this connection it is interesting to note that \$2.50 is the price that the Federal Trade Commission has fixed upon as a fair and reasonable price for news-print paper in this country—that is, at the time to which the Senator alludes. In comparison with this price the Trade Commission reports that the largest consumers of news-print paper have had to pay from \$3 to \$3.50 per hundred pounds, and in some cases even as high as \$4.50, while the small publishers have been forced to pay prices as high as \$7.50 to \$9 per hundred f. o. b. mill. This same paper, before the war started, sold generally at \$2 per hundred pounds.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in that connection I want to say that Canada is treating the United States, in the selling of her paper, just opposite to the way we have been trying to

treat our allies in selling products that are shipped to them from this country. For instance, we put a price upon copper of 23½ cents per pound. We sell it to all of our allies at 23½ cents a pound. England buys it at 23½ cents a pound from the United States; and yet, at the same time, for copper produced in Canada she pays 29 and 30 cents a pound, and for copper produced in Mexico, in the case of purchases made upon the same day, instead of 23½ cents a pound she has paid as high as thirty-odd cents a pound.

Mr. FERNALD. Does the Senator refer to the United States Government?

Mr. SMOOT. No; I refer to England. Everybody purchases it from us for 23½ cents a pound. In other words, we are trying to sell our allies our products just as low as it is possible to sell them, while our allies are forcing us to pay as high prices as possible and more than she charges her own people, as in the case cited here by the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, will the Senator let me ask him a question before he takes his seat?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. How can the machinery of this joint resolution be carried into execution? The Trade Commission is to take the paper. It can not take it without paying for it; and then it must sell it. Is any money provided for the Trade Commission with which it can make this first payment? Is it to go into the general business of buying and selling all this paper? And if so, where is the capital provided?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Where is the capital in the case of coal? Where is the capital in the war-products bill?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The coal bill does not provide for purchasing and selling coal, if the Senator will allow the suggestion.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes; it does.

Mr. SMOOT. There are also appropriations made there.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes; the food-control bill contains an appropriation of \$100,000,000. I do not want the Senator to misunderstand me. I just want to have the joint resolution in such shape that it will work.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do not misunderstand the Senator; not at all. I am glad of the interruption. I think we need it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am not opposing the legislation. It seems to me there is simply no machinery to execute this joint resolution as it is drawn, and that the Trade Commission would have no power to do anything under it except to stop the paper manufacturers' business. Would it not be better to permit the Trade Commission to fix the price, and not interfere with the business of any company that accepts the price, but let it go on in a normal way, dealing directly with its customers rather than with the United States Government?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Here is the purpose that I get from those who expect to try to handle it: They believe that under the power given them they can establish fair and legitimate prices after an investigation of the costs. They can see that the paper is fairly distributed and not given to one place and refused to another. The power rests in them. The provision is that the mechanical and chemical pulp in the United States shall be operated on Government account, and that these products shall be pooled in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Nothing of that sort is done with reference to coal.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It has not been done yet, but it can be.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; the Government has the right to take the mines and operate them and do the work itself, but the fuel administration has no power to take all the coal in the United States and distribute it; and the food control has an appropriation of \$100,000,000 with which to conduct its business with reference to foodstuffs. It seems to me that without some amendment this measure is calculated to stop the business and to give nobody any means of obtaining the goods for distribution. The Interstate Trade Commission can not get them without paying 75 per cent of the value. They have no money with which to pay the 75 per cent. They have no authority and machinery for distribution. They must go into the general business of buying and selling. They can not distribute without pay. Most of the newspapers buy on time. A great many of them do. Is the Trade Commission to determine the credit of every newspaper in the country and sell on time? All these delicate details, it seems to me, we ought to settle in this legislation and in the joint resolution before we pass it.

While I am on my feet there is one further provision to which I wish to call attention. It is in line 7, page 2, where it is provided that the legislation shall continue in force "for the term

of the war and the emergency occasioned thereby." I am opposed to leaving any such language as "emergency occasioned thereby" in any legislation.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do not care for that at all.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I should like to take that out.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do not care; let it come out.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have been sitting here studying it, and I have had this bill brought to my attention by my friends who want something of the sort, who feel that they have been greatly oppressed by what has been going on. My suggestion is, first, that if the Trade Commission is authorized to fix the price, then we ought not to interfere with the business of anybody who accepts that price.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, if I understand the matter correctly, the Attorney General has made an agreement with the manufacturers and dealers in print paper that the Federal Trade Commission may fix the price, and both sides have agreed to that.

Mr. SHIELDS. I understood that they violated the agreement.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Not this last agreement. They made an agreement, and subsequently to the agreement it is claimed that the Attorney General instituted legal proceedings against the manufacturers, and they jumped the agreement after the legal proceedings were instituted by the Attorney General. The two branches of the Government did not act in harmony, so it is claimed. I do not know what the facts are in that respect. What I want is to see a measure passed which will practically work out fairly to everybody and be a real protection to those who must use paper against unjust combinations and extortionate prices.

My first suggestion is that if the Trade Commission is to fix the price those who accept the price should go on with their business with their customers without interference. As I understand this language, it proposes that the Trade Commission shall take over the paper product of the United States and resell it. It does not give them the money to buy it. It does not provide the machinery for the resale. It does not say whether they shall resell at the same price.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The only purpose of the measure, I will say to the Senator, was that in case of necessity it was to be done.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Ought there not to be at least this kind of a provision, that any company accepting the rate fixed by the Trade Commission shall be permitted to go on with its business without any interference at all?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That is the object of two or three of my amendments.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have not studied the amendments; I have just studied the original joint resolution.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I am obliged to the Senator for his comment.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I hope that the great bulk of companies will accept, if they have not already agreed to do so. They agreed once before, and some kind of a dispute arose that broke up the agreement.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I shall not take the time to-day to discuss the provisions of the pending joint resolution for I want to see the amendments the Senator from Arizona has offered to it and what effect they will have upon it, but as they were read from the desk I hardly think that they correct the measure in a way that it can possibly be administered. The joint resolution says:

That the Federal Trade Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to supervise, control, and regulate the production and distribution of print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp in the United States, and that all mills producing and all agencies distributing print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp in the United States shall be operated on Government account; that these products be pooled in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission for the term of the war and the emergency occasioned thereby and equitably distributed at a price based upon cost of production and distribution plus a fair profit per ton, as determined by the Federal Trade Commission.

The Senator knows that there are thousands of little papers, weekly papers and little magazines, published in small towns throughout the country that do not use half a car of paper in a year. They buy their paper from the local paper distributor, and those distributors are in every large city in the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. And they have charged most enormous profits.

Mr. SMOOT. Some of them, and some of them no doubt charged a reasonable profit. I know small papers that can not buy even a roll of paper at a time. I know they have actually asked that the rolls be divided, and not only that but their credit is such that it is absolutely impossible for them to buy more than what is required for the actual issue, and they issue once a week or once a month, as the case may be. I do not believe

that there are 5 per cent of the newspapers of the United States that pay cash for their paper. They are given 30 days' time, some of them 60 days' time, and with many of them special arrangements are made by which they are carried by the distributor of paper for a longer period than 60 days.

Under the joint resolution there is no provision whatever to meet a situation of that kind. If the Federal Trade Commission is going to undertake to distribute print paper as the joint resolution provides, we shall have employed not a thousand or two thousand or three thousand men under the Trade Commission but so many thousand that I can not predict what the number would be.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The Senator does not permit me to tell him.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I will yield to the Senator at any time.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. All the matter of which the Senator speaks right now is modified by the proposed amendments that have been offered.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator read the amendment that modifies it?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I will read a few of them right now in the order they come.

Mr. SMOOT. I mean the one that takes care of this very point.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona (reading)—

That whenever during the continuance of the war and for six months thereafter the President shall deem it needful, he may direct the Federal Trade Commission to supervise, control, and regulate the production and distribution of print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp and their products in the United States, and that such mills producing and such agencies distributing print paper and mechanical and chemical pulp and their products in the United States as the President shall designate shall be operated on Government account—

And so forth.

This shows that it can not affect all the small people, except as the President shall designate, that a particular one shall be taken. It gives more latitude. Instead of turning over every newspaper plant in America it only turns over the recalcitrant ones—the disobedient ones—and those who are combining for the purpose of making a bigger price for their product.

Mr. SMOOT. The amendment has the effect of taking out of the Federal Trade Commission the authority and giving it to the President of the United States, and to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to put it in force.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It does not. It gives the President of the United States power to designate any cases, and very probably they will report to him. As the Senator knows very well, it must pass through the commission of necessity.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not think the President of the United States can or should say to this mill, "You shall sell your paper to Tom Jones at such and such a price."

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. "And deliver so much paper to him every day, and you shall extend credit to him for 60 days or 90 days, and in case Tom Jones can not buy one roll of paper, then you have got to divide the roll of paper and give him just what he wants." The President of the United States under any act of Congress ought to be given general powers, and whatever power he uses—

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. This gives general power, and nothing else.

Mr. SMOOT. Affect all alike.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It is nothing else except the very same thing you complain of. As soon as there is proposed the least possible relief from seizing every newspaper in the country, then you complain because the relief given does give the authority to the President or to this agency either. As you know, the President has to act through the Trade Commission, and not otherwise. It is merely designating some source by which they can seize those who are absolutely violating the provisions of the joint resolution, and no others, and order a fair price. There is nothing else to say about it.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask the Senator how will any manufacturer of paper in the United States know he is violating a law unless he knows beforehand what the law requires of him? There has got to be a price fixed, and that price apply to all alike.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. There will be a price fixed, and there is one fixed by agreement with the very trust, and there is another, as far as roll print paper is concerned, that they will submit to what the Trade Commission says until the end of the war.

Mr. SMOOT. If that be the case, then there is no necessity whatever for this legislation.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. No matter if they do violate the contract, as they would do in 15 minutes if they had only \$2,500 to pay to keep out of the penitentiary.

Mr. GALLINGER. There is a \$50,000 fine in the joint resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. I know the Senator from Arizona is a just man and I know he does not want to cast reflections upon any man unjustly.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do not, and I will not, either.

Mr. SMOOT. There is no question, Mr. President, but what the Federal Trade Commission took up this question of the price of print paper. They went into it, as they stated before our committee, most thoroughly, and it was agreed what the price of print paper should be. They called the print-paper manufacturers of the country or the representatives of the leading mills of the country before them and after an exhaustive conference it was agreed at that conference what the price of print paper should be. The print-paper manufacturers thought that that agreement was made in good faith with the Government of the United States and were perfectly willing to carry it out. The agreement had not been made very long before the Attorney General started suit against the very concerns that had made agreements with the Federal Trade Commission that print paper should be a certain price. Shortly after that agreement was made with a commission of the Government another department of our Government starts suits against them to declare them a trust and dissolve the association. Just as soon as that happened the manufacturers who had agreed upon the price of paper stated if the Government of the United States was going to start suit they might as well let them carry on the suit and there will be no further agreement as to the price of paper until the suit was decided.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will the Senator allow me. The Senator I take it is opposed to the joint resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. I am opposed to it in the form in which it is.

Mr. HARDWICK. So is the Senator from Georgia on principle, no matter what form it is put in. I think there was some agreement that it was not to be disposed of until tomorrow or not to be taken up even. Of course, it will not be disposed of to-day.

Mr. SMOOT. It was not to be disposed of until to-morrow.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. My intention was to put my explanation of the measure in the Record to-day and have the amendments printed.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator from Georgia that after the statement was made by the Senator from Arizona there developed through his colleague [Mr. SMITH of Georgia] a question that seemed so vital to the resolution that it was worthy of consideration, and in order that it might be obviated, if it could be, we thought it was proper to call the attention of the Senator having the measure in charge to it.

Mr. HARDWICK. I want to discuss the measure at some length, but I do not care to do it until the amendments which the Senator from Arizona has offered have been printed and I can comprehend exactly what they mean. I think it would be better to lay aside the joint resolution until to-morrow.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator, I am through with what I had to say.

Mr. HARDWICK. I was not complaining of the Senator.

Mr. SMOOT. I recognize that. I opened my statement with the remark that to-morrow I shall more than likely discuss the joint resolution in detail, but I did feel like calling the attention of the Senator having it in charge to this one question, that it seemed to me was so vital that the measure would be unworkable and would be of no effect whatever if passed in the shape it is.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. There are amendments to meet all those bad conditions.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I want to submit two proposed amendments and have them printed in the joint resolution as it will appear pending to-morrow. I move to strike out "seventy-five," before "per centum," in line 13, page 2, and insert "ninety," and in lines 16 and 17, to strike out "seventy-five," before "per centum," and to substitute "ninety." I hope the Senator from Arizona will look into that matter very carefully and see if 10 per cent in place of 25 per cent would not be a sufficient amount.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I shall be very glad to give it consideration in committee, if I can get a chance.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the joint resolution passes, as it is likely it will in some form, I should like very much indeed to have those amendments agreed to, and I hope the Senator will find it in his heart to agree to them.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I would not want to meet the suggestion of the Senator without some sort of a showing of good faith.

Mr. GALLINGER. Then I wish to ask the Senator one further question as a preliminary. There may be some bad men

engaged in the news-print paper business, as there are bad men engaged in every other activity of human endeavor. Does the Senator find in any similar cases a penalty of three years in prison and \$50,000 fine or both? Does not the Senator think that amount might well be reduced and not let it go to the world that these men are such a wicked lot of scoundrels that they ought to be dealt with differently from the rest of human kind?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I have no pride at all about that, and all those matters will rest in the judgment of the Senate. When we come to the final consideration of the measure all those things will appeal to me, no doubt, as they will to any Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will tender another amendment now. I move to strike out "\$50,000," on page 3, line 24, and insert "\$20,000." Let that be pending.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I suggest right in this connection, if the Senator will permit me, the national-defense act provides as follows—

or any necessary supplies or equipment, as ordered by the Secretary of War, or who shall refuse to furnish such arms, ammunitions, or parts of ammunition, or other supplies or equipment, at a reasonable price as determined by the Secretary of War, then, and in either such case, the President, through the head of any department of the Government, in addition to the present authorized methods of purchase or procurement herein provided for, is hereby authorized to take immediate possession of any such plant or plants, and, through the Ordnance Department of the United States Army, to manufacture therein in time of war, or when war shall be imminent, such product or material as may be required, and any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation, or organized manufacturing industry, or the responsible head or heads thereof, failing to comply with the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than three years and by a fine not exceeding \$50,000.

Mr. GALLINGER. Well, Mr. President, that deals with the life of the Nation. Men who obstruct the Government in its efforts to carry on this great war ought to be dealt with very severely, and I would not object to \$500,000 instead of \$50,000, but in this business transaction it seems to me it is an entirely different thing.

As the joint resolution is to go over until to-morrow, I will move that the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Before that is done I ask that the joint resolution be temporarily laid aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is requested by the chairman of the committee having the joint resolution in charge that it be temporarily laid aside. Does the Chair hear any objection? The Chair hears none. The request of the Senator from Arizona is granted, and the joint resolution takes its regular course and remains as the order of business.

Mr. CULBERSON. I suggest that we have a short executive session.

Mr. GALLINGER. I do not object to that.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 3135) to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, Arizona," in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 3135. An act to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, Arizona," was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. CULBERSON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 2 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, January 9, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 8, 1918.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

James J. Brady to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Michigan.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Robert N. Bell to be United States attorney, northern district of Alabama.

Thomas D. Samford to be United States attorney, middle district of Alabama.

Alexander D. Pitts to be United States attorney, southern district of Alabama.

Thomas A. Flynn to be United States attorney, district of Arizona.

John W. Preston to be United States attorney, northern district of California.

John Robert O'Connor to be United States attorney, southern district of California.

Hooper Alexander to be United States attorney, northern district of Georgia.

James L. McClear to be United States attorney, district of Idaho.

Thomas J. Boynton to be United States attorney, district of Massachusetts.

Francis Fisher Kane to be United States attorney, eastern district of Pennsylvania.

Rogers L. Burnett to be United States attorney, middle district of Pennsylvania.

Stuart W. Walker to be United States attorney, northern district of West Virginia.

L. H. Kelly to be United States attorney, southern district of West Virginia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, January 8, 1918.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, who art in Heaven, let Thy spirit come mightily upon these. Thy servants, that with clear minds, strong hearts, and high resolves they may prosecute the work of the hour with courage, vigor, and efficiency, and thus make themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 3081. An act to extend the time for the completion of the municipal bridge, approaches, and extensions or additions thereto by the city of St. Louis within the States of Illinois and Missouri; and

S. 2812. An act to encourage and promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, and sodium on the public domain.

CORRECTION OF THE JOURNAL.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Wisconsin rise?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I understood from listening to the reading of the Journal a sentence saying that Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin made a point of no quorum. If that is in the Journal I think it is incorrect, because I did not make that point.

The SPEAKER. The Chair did not understand the gentleman.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I would like to have a correction made.

The SPEAKER. It ought to be Mr. GILLET instead of Mr. COOPER.

Mr. FOSTER. It ought to be Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania.

The SPEAKER. Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania was the man.

Mr. GILLET. Mr. Speaker, I made the point of order, as the RECORD correctly has it.

The SPEAKER. It fixes GILLET, then. [Laughter.]

Mr. FOSTER. It was the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] who made the last point of order.

JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday unanimous consent was given that the House take a recess at 12:30 o'clock to-day to receive the Serbian commission. I ask unanimous consent that that time be changed until after the President finishes his address to-day, and that then the House stand in recess for 10 minutes for the purpose of receiving the Serbian commission.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent, in view of the fact that the President notified us that he wanted to come over here at 12:30 o'clock, that this prior order, to take effect at 12:30 for 30 minutes to hear the Serbian commission, be changed so as the Serbian commission shall come in just after the President leaves, and a recess of 10 minutes instead of 30 minutes.

Mr. GILLET. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is the first notification we have had that the President is coming up. May I inquire why this sudden change?

The SPEAKER. The change was necessitated by the fact that the President suddenly notified us that he was coming over here at 12.30.

Mr. GILLET. I will acquiesce then. I suppose the House has to adopt some resolution on the subject.

The SPEAKER. It is going to adopt it right now.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move immediate consideration and adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 32.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 8th day of January, 1918, at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the following resolution:

House concurrent resolution 32.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 8th day of January, 1918, at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

RECESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 12.25.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 12.25. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until 12.25 p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

At the expiration of the recess the House resumed its session and was called to order by the Speaker.

JOINT MEETING OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE.

At 12 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m. the Doorkeeper, Joseph J. Sinnott, announced the Vice President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate.

The Members of the House rose.

The Senate, preceded by the Vice President and by their Secretary and Sergeant at Arms, entered the Chamber.

The Vice President took the chair at the right of the Speaker and the Members of the Senate took the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. On the part of the House the Chair appoints the following committee to wait on the President: Mr. FLOOD, Mr. SHERLEY, Mr. WEBB, Mr. POE, Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin, Mr. GILLET, and Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the part of the Senate the Chair appoints Senators MARTIN, STONE, SIMMONS, OVERMAN, GALLINGER, LODGE, and WARREN.

At 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m. the President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House and stood at the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. Gentlemen of the Sixty-fifth Congress, I present the President of the United States.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 765).

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Congress, once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they

would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite programme of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific programme of practical terms was added. That programme proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied,—every province, every city, every point of vantage,—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in the war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. [Applause.] There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society [applause], and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. [Applause.] They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind [applause]; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace. [Applause.]

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. [Applause.] The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view. [Applause.]

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war [applause], except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance. [Applause.]

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. [Applause.]

V. A free open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. [Applause.]

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy [applause] and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. [Applause.] The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored [applause], without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine [applause], which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all. [Prolonged applause.]

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality. [Applause.]

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development. [Applause.]

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea [applause]; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into. [Applause.]

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development [applause], and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees. [Applause.]

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant. [Applause.]

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. [Applause.]

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end. [Applause.]

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery. [Applause.]

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us [applause], whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test. [Prolonged applause.]

At 12 o'clock and 54 minutes p. m. the President retired from the Hall of the House.

At 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m. the Speaker announced that the joint session had dissolved.

Thereupon the Vice President and Members of the Senate returned to their Chamber.

SERBIAN MISSION.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as a committee to escort the Serbian mission Messrs. FLOOD, DENT, SABATH, COOPER of Wisconsin, and FORDNEY, and the House will stand in recess.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the members of the Serbian mission, escorted by the committee appointed by the Speaker, entered the Hall of the House and were announced by the Doorkeeper. The members of the mission were: Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch (chairman), Dr. Sima Lozanitch, Gen. Michailo Rachitch, Lieut. Col. Michailo Nenadovitch, Capt. Milan Yovitchitch, and Mr. Vladislav Martinatz.

Mr. Lioubomir Michailovitch, minister from Serbia to the United States, accompanied the mission into the Hall of the House, together with the Third Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Breckinridge Long; A. B. Ruddock, of the Department of State; and Lieut. H. F. Armstrong, United States Army.

The SPEAKER. Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, almost 500 years ago the Turks overran the Balkans and got as far as the capital of Austria, and John Sobieski, the heroic King of Poland, went down there with an army and defeated the Turks under the walls of Vienna. From that day to this the Turks have been retreating eastward, sometimes very slowly and sometimes more rapidly. During all these years, nearly five centuries, the Serbians and Montenegrins have kept up a more or less constant warfare against the Turks. [Applause.] They never admitted that they were conquered. Serbia was one of the first of the Balkan Provinces that achieved its independence. It is one of the smaller States of Europe, but no nation in the world has ever put up a braver fight. [Applause.] About the time that the western end of the Balkans, including Serbia, had achieved independence from the Turks, the Austrians precipitated this war by an assault on Serbia. They did not get along as easily as they supposed they would, and the Serbians fought them inch by inch, and were driven from their own country only by the overwhelming force of men and guns. I suppose that in this war the Serbians have suffered more than any other nation in Europe.

I take pleasure in introducing to the House the head of the Serbian mission to the United States, Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch, who will now address the House. [Applause.]

DR. VESNITCH. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, we stand here, in this post of honor, my friends and myself, thanks to your great courtesy, and my first thoughts go beyond you to your constituents, to those whom you so conscientiously represent, and who probably have often asked of you the reason for this catastrophe overwhelming the world, and which has imposed upon them the greatest sacrifices which humanity has ever been called upon to endure. Would that my voice might reach them all, but, alas! I fear that I can not hope to succeed in this self-imposed task, for the voice of a modest representative of a small nation is too weak to be heard throughout this vast country. Nevertheless, I dare not hesitate, and your democracy, gracious and gentle as it is powerful, will lend its ears to my voice, because I ask the favor of speaking the truth and of invoking justice for the cause of the allies and for that of my desolate country.

The most distinguished of our common allies have explained to you from this platform the reasons for which Germany and Austria-Hungary have provoked this tremendous war, and for which all righteous and liberty-loving nations have been successively and necessarily involved in this conflagration. This duty was for none of them so great and so imperative as for me; for little Serbia, as you know, was the first nation attacked by Austria-Hungary, and later invaded by Germany, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Serbia was the first object of the Teuton's aggression. In a single moment the armies of four powers, representing 150,000,000 inhabitants, were hurled against a small nation of hardly 5,000,000, whose army was exhausted by two preceding wars.

Why did the central European powers attack us, aided by their Turanian, Asiatic, and half-Asiatic allies? Why did the liberal nations of Europe interfere in this unequal struggle? Why was it impossible for your great country to stand, as it were, apart, and await the final result of this immense conflict, far from the field of battle? To frame clearly the answer of these questions would require hours and hours, if not days, and, as I may not impose upon your good nature or claim more than half an hour of your precious time, I shall endeavor to be very brief. Because of this my address will necessarily suffer, but I count upon your indulgence.

You will, I sincerely hope, agree with me that a great and enlightened democracy has the right in our time to be fully informed why it is that its citizens, so far removed from the battle field, why, to be specific, the countrymen of Washington and Monroe, should forsake their regular occupations, renounce all their cherished plans, and concentrate their thoughts and

their powers, physical as well as moral and material, exclusively on one object—to win the war. The necessity for this is absolute.

Two motives have led Germany and Austria-Hungary to crush Serbia, both of which were peremptory and categorical. The first was dictated by the determination of the Germans to become the masters of the world after having successfully subjected Europe to their will and having settled themselves in Asia Minor. The second was due to the horror in which the German mind holds democracy. If you consider these two motives more closely you will readily persuade yourselves that their origin is the same autocratic mentality of the Teutons, of which the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs are the strongest and the most evident personifications. This mentality manifested itself long ago in the Middle Ages, when the Hohenzollerns imposed Christianity with the sword for political purposes, and when the Hapsburgs forced a people to stand bareheaded before the hat of Gessler. Medieval, feudal robbers, the Hohenzollerns descended from their mountain castles, and, passing through the county of Nuremberg, founded the Duchy of Brandenburg, outraging and exterminating the Slavs, and colonizing their lands with Teutons. Through persistent intrigue and military activity they have transformed their dominions into the Kingdom of Prussia, which they enlarged by robbing Austria of Silesia, Denmark of Schleswig-Holstein, and, excluding Austria from the circle of German States, formed the North German Confederation, under the leadership of Prussia. Five years later the South German States, through compulsion and compromise, were united with the North German States and merged into an empire, and, enlarged by the cynical annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, under the dominion of this same Prussia, the German States have become Prussianized. From that moment the ambition of the Hohenzollerns has known no bounds. They have resolved to conquer the world. Indeed, before Nietzsche announced his theory of the superman, the German people considered themselves to be a superior people. Their superior people—Uber-volk, to use their own expression—ought, in their opinion, to govern and direct the world, because, in their pride, they claimed to be the cultured people—in their own language Kulturvolk—and the transmitters of culture, as they termed it, Kulturtrager—to the peoples of the earth. The first step to be taken was to secure financial and agricultural resources for the struggle which this ambition would necessarily provoke. These, they early saw, were to be found in Palestine and Mesopotamia, where there were cotton and wheat in abundance. After having for scores of years lulled the Turks into a belief in their friendship, until the Kaiser, with turban on head, knelt before the grave of Mohammed, the Germans decided to cut their way through the Balkans. But to reach Constantinople and Saloniki it was necessary to win over or to crush Serbia. As we could not be won over, our destruction was quickly decided at Berlin and Vienna.

The House of Hapsburg had even more reasons to wish for our disappearance from the map. Old feudal brigands, descending from the Swiss mountains, the Hapsburgs conquered, often fraudulently acquired, Province after Province. By cabal, corruption, and treachery, they acquired the crown of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, without ever seeing in their provinces and realms anything more than private lands or family domains. Even nowadays the Hapsburgs do not recognize an Austrian or Hungarian, a Czech or Croat country, nor even an Austria-Hungary. They only know lands and estates belonging to their house like simple property, and it is on the basis of these conceptions that they administer their Provinces, considering the inhabitants as belonging to and forming a part of their estates. At the same time, being essentially a Teutonic dynasty, the Hapsburgs have always been in the East the agents of German policy. With the exception of the German, and from the latter half of the last century Magyar, they have never tolerated national tendencies under their rule, and they have persecuted systematically every nation or race with those ambitions, especially the Slavs; but they have emptied the vials of their wrath upon the Yougoslavs, because the democratic Slovenes and Croats had seen in the Serbia of their brothers the realization of their dreams extending over centuries, and, as they have openly and with all their energy favored our development, many of them abandoning their homes and their native lands in order to pass over to and to settle in little Serbia, the feudal and bureaucratic Hapsburgs have seen in our country a real danger to their political situation. And because of this menace, as they considered it, they long ago inaugurated the policy of oppressing the Yougoslavs, of persecuting Serbia, and of thwarting all our endeavors toward a normal economic and political development.

If Austria-Hungary has become a hell to all her inhabitants, with the exception of the Germans and Magyars, no nationality has suffered more under Hapsburg misrule than the Yougoslavs.

Hatred of the Croats and of the Slovenes has increased in the last 50 years as they have begun to oppose Germanization, leaning upon Serbia as a defense and upon her democracy. Since the formation of the Austro-German alliance of 1879, Vienna and Berlin have been united in their policy to crush Serbia because of its democracy—a small America in the southeast of Europe—and to counteract every effort of the Serbs and Croats or Slovenes in the dual monarchy standing in their way.

Our desperate moral and political situation has been truly pictured by one of our great national poets, "Our tears flow unremarked, and neither our cries nor our prayers are heard." The ambition to dominate the world, and the determination to check democratic movements in their dominions, have been the motives which have caused the central powers to inaugurate this tremendous war. All else has been simple pretext.

You know the methods followed by the Germans in this war in Belgium, in France, in Italy, in Roumania, and even in Russia. You have never heard of the horrors endured by the Yougoslavs, not only in Serbia but even in the Provinces of Austria-Hungary. They are so cruel and inhuman that I am obliged to spare you the recital. But I must give you one, the slightest example of it.

Since we have been so happy as to enjoy the hospitality of your beautiful Capital, I have been going every Sunday to commune with your people in prayer for all the unfortunate men and women in the world and for our redemption from the evils imposed upon us all by German aggression. On every one of these occasions I have recalled to mind the military order issued by the invader of my martyred country:

Divine service is only to be permitted at the request of the inhabitants of the locality and only in the open air and outside the church. No sermon, however, will be permitted under any conditions whatsoever. A platoon, prepared to fire, will hold itself in readiness near the church during divine service.

In methods of barbarity, Austrians, Magyars, Bulgarians, and Germans have vied with one another. Contrary to the traditions of warfare in the last three centuries, and contrary to the obligations assumed in international treaties, the Austro-Germans, the Bulgarians, and the Turks have violated the most elementary civil, moral, and religious rights in Belgium, in France, in Italy, in Roumania, but surely nowhere in such large measure as in Serbia. Should they be victorious in this war, the turn of others would necessarily come, and neutral nations would not escape.

This situation imposes upon us all the imperative duty of facing sacrifices to win the war. I have come from the western front in Europe, and I saw there all the horrors of German devastation. Attila could go to the school of barbarism founded by the successors of Moltke. But I saw at the same time the resolution of all the allied soldiers, those under the command of your gallant Gen. Pershing included, to win this war, forced upon us all, and to restore right, justice, and liberty to the civilized world. [Applause.] But to win it we must act with all our coordinated energy and indefatigably day and night. We must not, we dare not, think of anything else these days than of the war and of winning it. Only when we hold complete and definite victory in our hands can we dare to think of peace. This peace must be a just and a lasting one, and to be such it can not be made in Germany. [Applause.] To obtain it we must realize that further great and earnest efforts are to be made. We must stand as one man and concentrate all our energies. We Serbs put all our confidence in our allies, as we have up to the present day, that this sunlight will dawn. We hope that the new world organization—for a new world will and must result from this war—will be inspired by the American spirit, tending toward "a more perfect union," providing at the same time that no State shall be deprived of its equality in the new society of nations. We may assure you, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, that in the coming happier organization we shall be factors and elements of order and of progress, and that we shall be happy and proud to stand beside you and to follow you in the way in which the spirit of Washington is to guide mankind. [Applause.]

The members of the mission then took their places on the right of the Speaker's rostrum, and the Members of the House of Representatives were presented to them.

The distinguished visitors were then escorted from the Hall of the House.

The recess having expired, the House (at 1 o'clock and 37 minutes p. m.) resumed its session.

Mr. GILLET. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings which took place during the recess be published in the Record.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the proceedings incident to the visit

of the Serbian mission be printed in the Record. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO WITHDRAW PAPERS.

By unanimous consent, Mr. DENTON was given leave to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, the papers in the case of Thomas J. Lamar (H. R. 19145, 64th Cong.), no adverse report having been made thereon.

REFERENCE AND PRINTING OF THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the address of the President be printed and referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, in addition to the copies of the President's address which will be printed and distributed through the Document Room under the rules of the House, I ask unanimous consent that 25,000 copies be printed and distributed through the Folding Room.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that 25,000 copies of the President's address just delivered be printed in document form and distributed through the Folding Room. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will call attention to the fact that the next to the last address of the President never has been referred. Does the gentleman wish to make some motion about it?

Mr. KITCHIN. I thought myself that being a special message it was unnecessary to make a motion.

The SPEAKER. Then the Chair will refer it to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

HOOR OF MEETING THURSDAY.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns Wednesday it adjourn to meet at 11 a. m. on Thursday.

Mr. GILLET. Is that with the understanding that the woman-suffrage amendment will be considered on Thursday?

Mr. KITCHIN. I understand the Rules Committee will bring in a rule on Thursday for the consideration of the woman-suffrage amendment, and that it is the purpose to close the matter up and vote on the amendment on that day, and we wish to have an extra hour.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Wednesday it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. on Thursday. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for leave of absence for the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER], indefinitely, on account of illness.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER] be given indefinite leave of absence on account of illness. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

UNLAWFUL RESTRAINTS AND MONOPOLIES.

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of S. J. Res. 106, extending until January 1, 1919, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, now on the Speaker's table.

The SPEAKER. The parliamentary clerk is momentarily absent, but the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Virginia when the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] has concluded his 30-minute speech.

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to awaiting the return of the parliamentary clerk, but I want to be certain that we are not going to adjourn so as to cut off consideration of Senate joint resolution 106, because this is the last day of the existence of the law and it is necessary to consider it if possible to-day.

Mr. STAFFORD. What does the resolution relate to?

Mr. CARLIN. It relates to the suspension of section 10 of the Clayton Antitrust Act.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think there is some objection to the passage of the resolution.

Mr. CARLIN. I am not concerned about the objection to the resolution, but I am concerned about its consideration to-day.

The SPEAKER. There is no trouble about that; it is entitled to be called up to-day. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND], under the order of the House, is entitled to 30 minutes.

Mr. LONDON was called to the chair as Speaker pro tempore. Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, January 8 commemorates the brilliant victory of Gen. Jackson at New Orleans, but this year we Missourians celebrate it for another reason. It marks the date when the first petition was presented in Congress to confer statehood upon that great Commonwealth. The battle then begun was epoch-making in the history of our Republic. It ranged over the whole field of social, political, and constitutional problems, until it culminated in the famous "Missouri compromise," under which Missouri was admitted to the Union August 10, 1821.

It is the purpose of the people of our State to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the statehood of Missouri in some fitting manner in 1921. It is my purpose at this time to call attention to the rapid Americanization of Missouri during the first 14 years of its history and the tremendous effect of this change upon the destiny of the great West.

The transfer of Upper Louisiana from the control of France to that of the United States occurred at St. Louis March 10, 1804. The Province of Louisiana had belonged to Spain for 40 years, but Spanish rule had made little or no impression on it. The settlements remained French. Their language and customs were French. The spirit of the people was French, and no influx of Spanish colonists had come in all those 40 years to disturb the quiet, shut-in life of the little villages. The nominal transfer of the Province back to France to permit it to be ceded to the United States awakened in their hearts the fires of enthusiasm for the land of their fathers.

Gen. Chittenden thus describes the scene of the transfer:

It was an unusual spectacle that took place in St. Louis March 9 and 10, 1804, and one filled with sadness to the old inhabitants, who were mostly of French descent. The formal transfer of Upper Louisiana from Spain to France had not been made when the time arrived for its transfer to the United States. In order that this transfer might be made from France to the United States according to the terms of the treaty with Napoleon, Capt. Amos Stoddard, of the United States Army, who had been delegated to receive the country from France, was empowered by the French Government to act as its agent in the transfer which must first take place from Spain to France. The ceremony of the first transfer occurred between the hours of 11 a. m. and noon, March 9, 1804. The Spanish flag was lowered and the standard of France was run up in its place. The people, although conscious that the sovereignty of France was being resumed but for a moment and simply as a necessary formality in the final transfer, nevertheless could not restrain their joy at seeing float over them once more the standard which even the 40 years of the mild sway of Spain had not estranged from their memories. So deep was the feeling that when the customary hour came for lowering the flag the people besought Capt. Stoddard that it might remain up all night. The request was granted and the flag of France floated for 24 hours over the city from which it was about to be withdrawn forever. At the appointed time on the following day, March 10, 1804, the ceremony of transfer from France to the United States was enacted. The flag of the French Republic was withdrawn and the Stars and Stripes waved for the first time in the future metropolis of the valley of the Mississippi. Thus St. Louis became perhaps the only city in history which has seen the flags of three nations float over it within the space of 24 hours. * * * (American Fur Trade, vol. 1, p. 105.)

With such a beginning, the task of governing and Americanizing our first-acquired territory was inaugurated. With this, our first venture in national expansion, the whole theory of our institutions was on trial. Was Missouri to remain French—a mere subject province, alien in thought and speech; another Alsace and Lorraine—or was it to become American, an integral part of the Union?

The first government of acquired territory is always military, but the military régime should last no longer than is necessary to establish public order. Capt. Amos Stoddard, afterwards major, the Army officer who received the territory on behalf of the United States, became the head of authority for the time being. He exercised power in pursuance of the act of Congress of October 31, 1803, which authorized the President to take possession of Louisiana, and which provided "that until the expiration of the present session of Congress, unless provision for the temporary government of said Territories be sooner made to Congress, all the military, civil and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion."

The settlements then existing in Upper Louisiana were Arkansas Post, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, St. Genevieve, Carondelet, St. Louis, and St. Charles, and a few private trading posts among the Indians. The total population of these settlements, according to the census furnished by the United

States consul at New Orleans, was 6,028. This may have included only the inhabitants of the villages. Many American settlers had come in during the last decade of Spanish rule, and these followed the frontier custom of building their log cabins in clearings on their individual tracts of land, often remote from the settlement. The French, on the contrary, clung to the villages. According to one estimate, about two-fifths of the inhabitants of the upper district were Americans at the time of the transfer.

On the 26th of March, a few days after the transfer, and during the same session of Congress as that which passed the act for the taking possession of Louisiana, an act was passed for the temporary government of the newly acquired domain. The portion south of the 33° of latitude, and now constituting the State of Louisiana, was organized into the Territory of Orleans. The residue of the Province from the southern boundary of Arkansas to the British possessions was included in the unorganized District of Louisiana. By the act the latter was placed under the control of the governor and judges of Indiana Territory, which Territory, embracing Illinois, extended to the east bank of the Mississippi. To these officials was given not only executive and judicial but legislative authority, subject to the Constitution of the United States and to certain special provisions for religious liberty and for trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions and in civil cases when the amount involved was \$100. All inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 45 were to be subject to militia duty. "The laws in force in the said District of Louisiana at the commencement of this act and not inconsistent with any of the provisions thereof, shall continue in force until altered, modified, or repealed by the governor and judges of Indiana Territory."

Gen. William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, thus became governor of the new District of Louisiana, which was simply added for the time being to his jurisdiction without being incorporated in the Territory of Indiana. Some technical question was afterwards raised about this on the subject of slavery. It was contended that as Indiana Territory was part of the Northwest Territory, in which by the ordinance of 1787 slavery and involuntary servitude were prohibited, the District of Louisiana came under the same law when it was added to the jurisdiction of the governor of Indiana Territory and therefore slavery became unlawful from that date. The contention was never seriously pressed. It is manifest from the terms of the act of Congress of March 26, 1804, that the laws then prevailing in the District of Louisiana were continued in force until changed by the governor and judges to whom the legislative authority was committed. As Gov. Harrison was not to assume his duties until October 1, 1804, he came to St. Louis, with his judges, in the meantime and familiarized himself, as far as possible, with the needs of the District.

The summer of 1804 was a busy one for St. Louis and for the new Territory. Lewis and Clark organized and started upon their expedition to the Pacific. Americans began to pour into the new land, led by the spirit of adventure and the unaccountable lure of a new country. After the return of Gov. Harrison and the judges to Vincennes from their visit to St. Louis, they enacted, on October 1, 1804, a few laws for the government of the District of Louisiana, including a slave code modeled upon that of Kentucky. Congress at the following session, March 3, 1805, changed the name of the District of Louisiana to the Territory of Louisiana. In response to a popular demand the act provided that a governor, a secretary, and three judges should be appointed who should reside in the Territory. The act was modeled after that for the government of Indiana Territory. All power, legislative, executive, and judicial, was vested in the governor and the three judges, who were appointees of the President. This is what is known in our law as a Territory of the first grade. It is a civil government and is one step higher than the military rule which it supersedes. It provides for local legislation but not for local participation in government.

The first governor appointed under the new act was Gen. James Wilkinson, who was then in command of the western posts of the American Army. The first judges of the Territory who served with Gov. Wilkinson were John B. C. Lucas, Return J. Meigs, Jr., and Joseph Browne. The new governor established himself at St. Louis and took up his duties April 24, 1805. Shortly thereafter Aaron Burr came to St. Louis and visited Wilkinson, and the air was soon thick with rumors of the wonderful conspiracy of Burr to establish an independent empire in the Southwest. It was never known how deeply Wilkinson was involved in Burr's plans. After the acquittal of Burr, Wilkinson was tried as an accessory, but no case was proved against him. He was unpopular with the St. Louis people, whether on account of his supposed intrigue with Burr

or because of his speculations in land is not clear. He was removed from the office of governor after less than two years' service. Col. Hammond was acting governor until the spring of 1807, when Capt. Meriwether Lewis was appointed governor.

The Americanization of the new Territory had now begun in earnest. In 1805 Lieut. Zebulon Pike was sent by Gov. Wilkinson to explore the upper waters of the Mississippi and to establish American authority there as against the encroachments of the British traders. The following year Pike was sent to the headwaters of the Arkansas, which resulted in his invading Spanish territory and being detained in honorable captivity. In 1806 the American post, Fort Bellefontaine, was established on the south bank of the Missouri River a few miles above its mouth. During that year and the next a colony of pioneers from Kentucky, under the leadership of Col. Benjamin Cooper, was established on Loutre Island in the Missouri River, opposite where the city of Hermann now stands. The return of Lewis and Clark, crowned with success in their efforts to reach the Pacific by way of the valley of the Missouri, gave new impetus to the fur trade. Companies were organized, and St. Louis became the emporium of this traffic.

The sons of Daniel Boone, Daniel M. and Nathan, had begun the manufacture of salt at a locality known as Boones Lick. This commodity was much in demand on account of the growing trade in peltries and the influx of the pioneer population with its live stock. The methods of the salt makers were primitive, consisting simply in the evaporation of the water from a salt "lick" or spring. The salt was loaded into dugout canoes and floated down the Missouri to St. Louis. Cedar Creek, which now divides the counties of Calloway and Boone, was the western boundary of the St. Charles district. The country above this stream was known as "Boones Lick country" and for a generation was the outpost of American settlement. Here in 1810 was removed the Cooper colony from Loutre Island, and the great fertility of the region attracted the first permanent group of American settlers.

The first newspaper in the Territory was the *Missouri Gazette*, established at St. Louis in 1808 by Joseph Charless. This paper is still in existence under the name of the *St. Louis Republic*. During the Spanish régime a few of the prominent French traders had established trading posts at points convenient for the traffic with certain tribes, but these were not even the nucleus of settlements. Manual Lisa had such a post near the Osage villages on the headwaters of the Osage River. Francis G. Chouteau founded what was known as the "Kansas Post," supposed to have been located on an island in the Missouri River about 3 miles below the mouth of the Kansas River.

The abuses of the unregulated trade with the Indians moved the American Government to do something in their behalf. The Spanish policy had been a restriction of trade into the hands of a few concessionaires of the Crown. With American sovereignty came the genius of the American institutions, which abolished monopoly and threw trade open to free competition. This was not an unmixed blessing to the Indians. Fraud, imposition, deceit, oppression, the debasing use of liquor, and the demoralizing influences of real or pretended sales on credit determined the Government to extend the "factory system" to the new country. A factory was a Government trading post, where the Indians could procure honest goods at just prices in exchange for their furs. The first, and for a time the only, factory west of the Mississippi was established at Fort Osage in 1808. The original orders from the Secretary of War directed the founding of a trading house and a military post to protect it at some point on the Osage River. After reviewing the situation, however, Gen. William Clark, Capt. Clemson, and Mr. Sibley decided upon locating the post on the Missouri River 4 miles above Fire Prairie Creek. This locality was 20 miles east of Kansas City. The post was accordingly started September 4, 1808, and completed December 2. It was first called Fort Clark, afterwards Fort Osage.

The lead mines of Missouri contributed also to the rapid settlement of the territory. The presence of a valuable deposit of mineral had been known since the time of the early French exploration. When first discovered it was supposed that the metal was silver, and this apparently fabulous wealth gave rise to the Mississippi scheme projected by John Law in 1719. The mines were worked in a desultory fashion under the French and Spanish, but no great progress was made. In 1797 a grant was made by the Spanish authorities to Moses Austin, afterwards celebrated as the pioneer colonizer of Texas. He was given a tract 1 league square for mining and smelting land. After the American occupation some real development occurred.

By 1809 a shot tower was in operation at Herculaneum, at which, tradition says, the shot was made to furnish the troops of Gen. Jackson in the Battle of New Orleans. John Bradbury,

the English naturalist, gives an extended account of the lead mines as he saw them in 1810. He was impressed with the fact that there was a considerable body of lead under the soil of Missouri. The mineral land was held under French or Spanish grants and the proprietors did little besides collecting a royalty from prospectors. The latter went from tract to tract as prospects seemed to offer. They stripped the soil, finding the lead in pockets and selling it to the proprietors at a customary price.

The cause which contributed most to the rapid growth of Missouri was the fact that it was new slave territory. The Northwest Territory, embracing Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, was free soil by the ordinance of 1787. The settlers from Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, who then constituted the most enterprising and adventurous class of the American population, crossed over the free soil of the Northwest Territory to reach Missouri, where they could take their slaves. This was supposed at the time to be an immense advantage to Missouri, and did contribute both to the rapidity of its settlement and to the character of its population, although the country never was adapted, from an economic standpoint, to the institution of slavery. The census of 1810 revealed a population in the Territory of 20,845, of which 3,011 were slaves. In St. Louis there were 5,667 inhabitants, of which 740 were slaves. The percentage of slaves in proportion to population continued to fall off with each census. After the coming of river transportation the doom of slavery as an economic institution was sealed. It was preserved only by the stress of partisan zeal.

Gen. Benjamin Howard was made governor of the Territory in 1810, and in the years of his administration several forts or stockades were erected by the settlers in the Boones Lick neighborhood for protection against the Indians. These forts had no regular garrison. In case of alarms the sounding of a horn summoned all the neighbors within the walls of the stockade, which was defended by the men and boys, all of whom were experts with the rifle. Punitive expeditions, composed of volunteer riflemen, were frequently sent after marauding parties of Indians who by a sudden raid had committed some outrage. Of the various tribes of Indians with whom these troubles occurred the Iowas only were of Sioux stock and belonged west of the Mississippi at the advent of the white men. They overran a portion of northern Missouri. The remaining tribes—the Miamis, Pottawatomies, Fox, Kickapoos, Delawares, and Shawnees—were Algonquin tribes, who had originally lived east of the river, some of them as far east as Pennsylvania. They had been driven from their homes by the steady advance of white settlement in the Northwest Territory. Many of them had fought in the French and Indian war against the Americans. By the time they reached Missouri they had become predatory vagabonds—cruel, bloodthirsty, and crafty. The savage virtues which they shared with the Algonquin race had disappeared in their contact with the whites and as result of their homeless wanderings. They gave more trouble than the resident tribes of the Sioux race that were found in the Missouri Valley.

The census of 1810 showed that the Territory had grown in population over 300 per cent in the six years following the change in sovereignty. All of the newcomers were Americans. It was but natural that they should begin to agitate for some form of political rights. Accordingly, a petition was presented to Congress in 1811 praying for local self-government. At this time the Territory of Orleans, comprising that part of the purchase below the thirty-third degree of latitude, was petitioning for statehood under the name of Louisiana. It was admitted as a State under that name April 8, 1812. The residents of the upper settlements, theretofore known as the Territory of Louisiana, promptly adopted the name "Missouri." Congress passed an act June 4, 1812, providing that the Territory of Louisiana should thereafter be called the "Territory of Missouri." No change in the boundaries was made. A governor and secretary were to be appointed by the President. The legislative power was to be vested in a general assembly consisting of the governor, a legislative council, and a house of representatives, with an absolute veto in the hands of the governor.

The house was to be composed of members elected every second year by the people of the Territory—one representative for every 500 white male inhabitants. The legislative council was to consist of nine members appointed by the President for five years from a list of 18 persons nominated by the house. The people were to elect one Delegate to Congress. The act took effect the first Monday in December of that year. Edward Hempstead was the first Delegate elected to Congress.

Here was the beginning of local government—an elective lower house, with an appointive upper house and executive. This is called a Territory of the second grade. The house of representatives held its first session on December 7, 1812, and nominated 18 persons, from whom the President was to select the

legislative council. Gov. Howard had taken the field in the war then beginning with England, and Gen. William Clarke, the companion of Capt. Meriwether Lewis, was appointed governor. The first meeting of the fully organized general assembly occurred on the 3d day of June, 1813. A number of laws were passed for the local government of the Territory.

The second war with England, which was officially proclaimed June 19, 1812, did not disturb seriously the new Territory of Missouri. Actual hostilities did not extend that far west. It was feared by the inhabitants that the Indians, particularly those tribes which had come in from the Northwest, would be armed and instigated by British agents to commit fresh depredations. Fortunately, Gen. Clarke had, in May just preceding the outbreak of war, taken a party of chiefs of the Great and Little Osages, the Sac, the Renards or Foxes, the Delawares, and Shawnees to Washington on an embassy of friendship. As a result no organized warfare was attempted by the Indians, although the settlers did not escape occasional raids.

When the War of 1812 broke out Gen. Howard sent word to the settlers in the Boones Lick country to come into St. Louis for protection, but received this reply from Capt. Cooper:

We have maid our Hoams here & all we hav is here & it wud run us to Leave now. We be all good Americans, not a Tory or one of his Pups among us & we hav 2 hundred Men and Boys that will fight to the last, and we hav 100 Wimen & Girls that will tak their places wh. makes a good force. So we can defend this Settlement, wh. with Gods Help we will do. So if we had a few barils of Powder and 2 hundred Lead is all we ask.

Whether the fear that British agents were inciting the Indians of the trans-Mississippi region to hostilities against the Americans was well founded or not, the rumors to that effect persisted among the fur traders. To prevent such influence among the Indians of the upper Missouri one of the most experienced fur traders, Manual Lisa, was appointed by Gov. Clarke subagent for those tribes. Lisa was the stormy petrel of St. Louis business life in those days. He was eminently successful as a trader and very tactful in his dealings with the Indians, but nothing he did escaped criticism from his commercial rivals. The Indians under his charge remained peaceful and even friendly to the Americans throughout the course of the war, but at its close it was necessary for him to resign and write a long letter to Gov. Clarke explaining that he had not enriched himself unlawfully out of the \$500 which the Government allowed him for the expense of his office.

The United States Government, on the acquisition of the Territory, made Auguste Chouteau a colonel and ambassador to the Indians. Chouteau was a handsome man of winning manners and convincing oratory, with light hair, high forehead, and straight nose; was always smoothly shaven and carefully dressed. After the treaty of Ghent, which put upon the United States the duty of making peace with the Indian tribes, Col. Chouteau achieved his greatest feat of diplomacy in a council which he held with them at Portage des Sioux on the Missouri River, a few miles above St. Louis. As the result of the tact and fairness of Col. Chouteau, Gov. Clarke, Maj. Sibley, Manual Lisa, and other representatives of the Government in Indian affairs, the Indians of the new Territory remained friendly and tractable, and Missouri was spared most of the horrors of Indian massacres which have stained with blood the early history of many American Commonwealths.

The treaty of Ghent, which closed the second war with England, was signed by the commissioners of the two Governments December 24, 1814, but news of the treaty did not reach the United States until after the brilliant victory of Jackson at New Orleans January 8, 1815. An attempt was made on the part of the British negotiators of the treaty to settle the northern boundary of Louisiana Province, but nothing could be agreed on, and the treaty was therefore silent on that point.

The termination of the war, with the sense of security which that event gave to the western settlers from attacks from the British dominions on the north or from the Indians instigated by the British, conduced to the rapid settlement of Missouri Territory. The two Boones, sons of Daniel, surveyed and laid out the first road west of the river. Their highway led from St. Charles to Old Franklin, a distance of about 150 miles. It was a rude affair, consisting of little more than the "blaze" on the trees to indicate the route and primitive log ferryboats at those streams which were too large to be forded. Rude as it was, it turned the immigrant tide toward the interior of the Territory and became a great artery of travel. It was known as the Boones Lick Road, and is one of the famous highways of history.

Settlers poured in from the Southern and Southwestern States. Those who came brought their families, and, in many cases, their live stock and slaves with them. While they were accustomed to live as much by hunting as by tilling the soil,

they were home makers and not moving trappers. They were of the best type of frontier life, hardy, adventurous, self-reliant, and resourceful. The axe and the rifle were their simple weapons to conquer the wilderness, and they were proficient in the use of each. Missouri was one great woodland and contained an abundance of sound, hard timber. Before provision was made for disposing of the public domain the new settlers squatted on the land wherever the fancy took them—usually on the bank of some creek, where there was water for the stock and the household. They did not gather into villages or even into clusters. Each settler maintained a jealous independence—"not near enough to hear the bark of his neighbor's dog."

Their houses were built of logs, notched at the end so that when the logs were laid one upon the other, the sides and ends alternating, they would fit together as snugly as possible. Chinks between the logs were filled with mud and broken stones. At first the logs were undressed, even the bark being left on, and the floor of the house was only the hard-packed dirt. Afterwards, as the pressure for immediate shelter was less acute, and especially as the family of boys grew, the houses were made of logs hewn square and neatly fitted together. Floors, tables, and benches were made of puncheon—that is, logs flattened on top and left rounded beneath. Chimneys were added, built of stone, running up the side of the house, with the fireplace opening into the living room through a hole left in the logs. Hardware there was none, so none was used in the building. No nails were needed, and the doors hung on leather or wooden hinges. A latch or bar which fitted into a rest fastened the door on the inside. This latch could be raised from the outside by means of a leather thong fastened to the latch and then passed through a hole in the door just above the latch. If the latchstring was hanging through the hole anyone outside the door could pull the latchstring and raise the latch. Unwelcome intrusion could be prevented by closing the door, fastening the latch, and pulling the string inside. "The latchstring hanging out" meant, therefore, the right to enter, or, colloquially, a standing invitation and welcome.

The woods abounded with game—turkey, deer, quail, grouse, rabbits, and squirrels. The streams were full of fish. The soil was fertile and the climate temperate. A little labor would raise more food than the family could consume, and there was no market for any surplus. After the few household utensils were provided, ammunition, salt, and some coarse cloth were the chief needs of the family. The men and boys dressed as much as possible in buckskin, so admirably suited to hard service and to protect the body in the tangled growth of the forests. Wild honey was a convenient substitute for sugar. Hunting bee trees was a sport of the late summer. A single hollow tree might yield several tubs of honey—enough for the winter supply of the family. Strange to say, bees are not naturally wild, nor are they native to Missouri. The Europeans brought the bees to our shores, but the insects escaped into the woods and became wild in the splendid luxuriance of field and forest. They crossed the continent in the vanguard of civilization, keeping just ahead or abreast of the settlers. The Indians came to regard bees as the forerunners of the white men.

The United States land system, so simple and so immensely superior to the Spanish system, was put into force in the new territory as rapidly as possible. It was not possible to begin the survey of the public lands immediately upon the acquisition of Louisiana. The country was wild and, for the most part, unexplored. The titles were clouded not only by the Indian right of occupancy but by the existence of the French and Spanish grants. The first settlers could only squat upon unoccupied lands and take chances on buying in the title when the lands were opened for settlement. The settler who had cleared the forest and built his improvements had no legal right of preemption, but his chances of perfecting his title as against a claim jumper or a mere speculator were greatly enhanced by a healthy public sentiment, aided by a firm reliance upon the "silent sentinel of the fireside," which hung above every chimney piece.

In 1815 the fifth principal meridian, the basis of land surveys in Missouri and Arkansas, was run north from the mouth of the Arkansas River. After the peace with Great Britain land was placed on sale at the St. Louis land office and at a land office opened at Franklin, in Howard County. Military bounties to the soldiers of the War of 1812, in lands to the north of the Missouri River, were decreed by Congress.

The act of Congress of 1812 creating the Territory of Missouri was amended April 29, 1816, by providing that both branches of the legislative council should be chosen by the people of the Territory. This raised Missouri to the status of a Territory of the third class, which is the most complete local self-government short of statehood. Little debate occurred

in Congress over this change, and yet it was a momentous one for Missouri. It indicated very nearly complete Americanization of this alien land in the short space of 12 years. Nothing truly approaching self-government had existed there in the hundred years from its settlement to its purchase, but as soon as the American pioneer became affixed to the soil his political genius asserted itself. With both branches of the legislative council elected by the people came the opportunity for general legislation in response to local demands. The first Territorial legislature under the act of 1816 revolutionized the system of law which prevailed over all of the old Province north of the boundaries of the State of Louisiana. The Spanish law was found in force. It was swept aside and the English common law substituted for it. Not a vestige of the Spanish law now remains in all that vast domain.

At the time of the original settlement of the Province of Louisiana the French law, which would in any event have followed the settlers of that nation, was expressly introduced and the customs of Paris were given to the colonies as their legal code. This continued to be the rule of action in the rather infrequent cases in which appeal to its provisions was necessary until the cession of the Province from France to Spain in 1762. In fact, it continued longer, until the coming of Count O'Reilly as the representative of the new sovereign in 1769. The seven years from 1762, when French authority ceased, to 1769, when actual control was taken by Spain, is spoken of in our history as the "interregnum." This means only that there were no legal governors, and not that there were no laws protecting private rights, for it is a principle of international jurisprudence that the laws governing the rights of private citizens are not destroyed by the mere fact of conquest or the transfer of sovereignty, but remain in force until altered or repealed by the new sovereign. This is what is known as the territorial theory of law which prevails among all civilized nations in contrast to the tribal theory of law which prevails among savage and barbarous tribes. It has been decided by the courts, both of Louisiana and Missouri, that the Spanish law was introduced into the Province of Louisiana by the Spanish authorities shortly after O'Reilly's proclamation in 1769—if not by the mere legal force of that instrument, at least by the practical adoption of it which followed.

Mr. Jefferson, indeed, insisted in the celebrated *Batture* case that this proclamation only changed the civil organization and the form of judicial proceedings, and that the French law still continued in force in reference to the civil rights of the inhabitants, but his opinion was not sanctioned by the courts. Notwithstanding this formal decision decreeing its death, the French law seems to have survived with remarkable vitality in the hearts of the people, as witness its reappearance more than 40 years later as the basis of the jurisprudence of the new State of Louisiana. In fact, the Supreme Court of the United States has said:

Every country has a common law of usage and custom, both local and general, to which the people, especially those of a conquered or ceded one, cling with more tenacity than to their written laws, and all sovereigns respect them. The people of Kent contended with the Conqueror of England till he confirmed their local customs and tenure which continue to this day; and history affords no instance where the people have submitted to their abrogation without a struggle, as was the case in Louisiana when they found that the laws of France and the customs of Paris were about to be superseded by those of Spain.

Legally and technically, when we took over the Province it was under the laws of Spain, and these laws remained in force until expressly altered or repealed by the proper lawmaking authorities. The laws of the Province were never treated by the Supreme Court of the United States as foreign laws, to be decided as a question of fact, but the court held itself bound to notice them judicially, as much so as the laws of a State of the Union. After the American occupation, the earlier territorial acts necessarily repealed such of the Spanish laws as were inconsistent therewith, as for example the act of July 4, 1807, which abolished the Spanish law of community and gave a wife dower in lieu of her interest under the Spanish law.

But the act of 1816 adopting the common law, which was a complete system, had the effect of repealing the entire Spanish code and thereafter the latter had no existence in the Territory of Missouri.

The act adopting the common law follows in its wording that of Virginia, in providing: "That the common law of England and all acts of Parliament of a general nature, not local to that Kingdom as it existed prior to the fourth year of the reign of James the First, shall be the law of this Territory." The fourth year of the reign of James the First was 1606, one year before the first permanent settlement of Englishmen within the limits of the United States at Jamestown, in Virginia. Our common law, therefore, goes back to the time when there were no colonies and when neither the written nor the un-

written law had been warped by the struggle between the colonies and the mother country.

The common law of England was claimed by the American colonists as a heritage and followed them into all the territory belonging to the thirteen original States. But Missouri adopted the common law by the free act of its legislative assembly. Thus the common law was carried across the Mississippi and displaced an alien system that had held sway for more than a century. And Missouri, at this time, included all of the Louisiana Purchase except the State of Louisiana. Thus the destiny of the whole West was affected, and the seal of Americanization set for all time upon the acquired domain. It was the supreme test of the change of national sentiment. The body of customary law, the deepest rooted of human institutions, was superseded—utterly swept away—by the free vote of the first popular assembly, both branches of which were chosen by the people of the Territory.

In 12 short years Missouri had become American. [Applause.]

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BORLAND. Yes.

Mr. COX. I may have forgotten my history, but how long had it been French?

Mr. BORLAND. It was settled in 1700, and had been French for 100 years. In 1762 it was ceded to Spain, but Spain's rule was purely nominal. There were no Spanish colonists.

Mr. COX. Between 1762 and 1769 Spain acquired full power and dominion over it.

Mr. BORLAND. In 1762, and took possession in 1769.

Mr. COX. Did the French have possession again in 1769?

Mr. BORLAND. France acquired the Territory and relinquished it in 1803.

Mr. COX. So that France and Spain had the Territory between 1769 and 1802.

Mr. BORLAND. Spain had the Territory, but the laws and customs and inhabitants were French. We had acquired the domain by treaty with Napoleon, and the population was still so purely French that they demanded that the French flag be kept up for 24 hours. But it became rapidly Americanized. It did not remain long under military rule. Within a year it was a first-grade Territory, with local judges and local officers. In six years more it was a second-grade Territory, with a legislative assembly, the lower house of which was elected by the people and the upper house appointed by the President. In five years more both branches of the legislature were elected by the people. Missouri had advanced to a Territory of the third grade. The first act of the legislature, both branches being elected by the people of the Territory, was to repeal the entire body of the French and Spanish law and supplant it with the English law. No such complete Americanization of territory has ever occurred, and no such complete change in national sentiment in an acquired domain has been recorded in the pages of history. In less than 12 years a people, completely alien in thought, habits, and laws for 100 years and a land with an alien language, were Americanized and turned into American territory. In 1818, less than two years after that, Missouri felt able to ask for statehood. It was much more entitled to statehood at that time than any other State when it first applied. But on account of the bitter struggle between the North and the South then coming on, it was not until August 10, 1821, that Missouri was able to be admitted as a State. In 1821, under the celebrated compromise, Missouri, the first completely American State to be created out of an acquired domain, came under the Stars and Stripes. [Applause.]

UNLAWFUL RESTRAINT AND MONOPOLIES.

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Chair lay before the House Senate joint resolution 106.

The SPEAKER laid before the House joint resolution (S. J. Res. 106) extending until January 1, 1919, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the effective date on and after which the provisions of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, shall become and be effective is hereby deferred and extended to January 1, 1919: Provided, That said section shall become effective on January 8, 1918, as to any corporations hereafter organized.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARLIN. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. Section 10 of the Clayton Antitrust Act, which is sought to be still further deferred in its enforcement, was deferred for two years under the terms of the original enactment and was later extended for its operation, which limit expires to-day?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Its purpose was to prevent railroad directors from profiting by the purchase of supplies from some company in which they were largely interested?

Mr. CARLIN. That was one of the purposes of the section.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand it, there is a strong argument for this further extension, because the railroad companies are not able to purchase under contracts as limited by the provisions of section 10, which requires them as to all supplies above \$50,000 to advertise for bids?

Mr. CARLIN. That is correct. The difficulty now is not how to buy but where to get supplies, and the request came to the Committee on the Judiciary from the joint legislative committee of the Senate and the House that has the subject under consideration. The gentleman will recall that a joint legislative committee was appointed from the two Commerce Committees of the Senate and the House. That joint committee wrote us a letter, which the gentleman will find in the report, suggesting the advisability of continuing this matter for a year.

Mr. STAFFORD. This is a matter that the joint committee has under consideration?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes; and they are ordered to report upon it.

Mr. STAFFORD. I assume by reason of the deferring of the enforcement of this section there is some valid reason why the railroads find it unworkable.

Mr. CARLIN. It is absolutely unworkable at this time and we have to get an extension.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate joint resolution.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CARLIN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the Senate joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

By unanimous consent, House joint resolution 188, of similar tenor, was laid on the table.

RETIREMENT OF JOHN J. FITZGERALD (H. DOC. NO. 805).

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a request for unanimous consent. At the time of the passage of the deficiency bill just before the Christmas holidays some notable addresses, as I view them, anent the retirement of our distinguished former colleague, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, were made in the House. I believe that those addresses, together with the address subsequently made by the former Speaker, Mr. CANNON, on the day prior to adjournment, when a gift was presented to Mr. Fitzgerald, should be printed as a House document, and I therefore make that request.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein the speech to which the President referred in his message this morning made by Mr. Lloyd-George.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the speech referred to by the President, made by the Premier of England, Mr. Lloyd-George. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the speeches made touching the retirement of Mr. Fitzgerald and the subsequent speech made by the former Speaker, Mr. CANNON, presenting him with a silver service, be printed as a House document. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a speech delivered by my colleague, Mr. HICKS, in New York City, on the subject of the European front.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a speech made by Mr. HICKS as to his experiences in Europe. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, where was the speech delivered?

Mr. SIEGEL. In New York City, on Sunday, December 23.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to renew my request for unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein the speech of Mr. Lloyd-George.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the gentleman from Massachusetts printing in the RECORD the speech by Premier Lloyd-George?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, can the gentleman obtain an authorized copy of that speech, so

that the speech that will be printed will be unquestionably the speech made by Mr. Lloyd-George?

Mr. TREADWAY. In reply to the gentleman I will say that I have asked for a copy and have been informed that undoubtedly an official copy can be obtained through the State Department. I shall make such a request of them in time to have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to prefer a request for unanimous consent, and if it be granted, then, at the conclusion of the remarks to be made, I shall move to adjourn. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] be permitted to address the House for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, on what subject?

Mr. BLANTON. I desire to explain my absence from the House at the time of the taking of the vote on the prohibition question. It is a personal matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted on Friday next, immediately after the reading of the Journal, to address the House for three-quarters of an hour on the subject of an international league to secure peace.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] asks unanimous consent that on Friday next, immediately after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, he be permitted to address the House for 45 minutes on the subject of creating an international league to secure peace, not to interfere with appropriation bills or conference reports. Is there objection?

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD], chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, I think intends to call up an omnibus pension bill on Friday next, and if the gentleman would provide that his speech shall be delivered after the passage of that bill I shall not object.

The SPEAKER. What does the gentleman from New York say?

Mr. LONDON. Well, Mr. Speaker, I make it after the consideration of the bill to which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Cox] referred.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman changes his request until after the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD] gets through with his omnibus pension bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend in the RECORD the remarks which I have just made.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] is recognized for three minutes.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I have been criticized—by one not in my district, however—for being absent on the 18th day of December when the vote on the prohibition amendment was taken. Shortly after the convening of the present session of this Congress, learning that there would be few matters considered before the holiday recess, I had agreed upon a pair with my colleague from Texas [Mr. GREGG] on the prohibition amendment. Later on he informed me that he was inclined to support the resolution, that he had about made up his mind to support it, and I released him from the agreement. On the 7th day of December Mr. T. A. CHANDLER, of Oklahoma, Mr. JAMES C. WILSON, of Texas—my colleague—and myself signed a written agreement to pair both on the national prohibition amendment and the woman-suffrage amendment, Mr. T. A. CHANDLER, of Oklahoma, and myself pairing in favor both of prohibition and suffrage, and Mr. JAMES C. WILSON, of Texas, against both measures, agreeing, however, that should all three of us be present whenever the vote was taken on either measure that then we should be released from the pair and all could vote. This signed written agreement was filed with the pair clerk on the 7th day of December, 1917, after which I left for Texas and Mr. CHANDLER left for Oklahoma, both Mr. CHANDLER and myself relying implicitly upon our pair duly executed and filed.

Having in my district 58 counties running 566 miles east and west, from Mineral Wells to El Paso, and several hundred miles north and south, from Lubbock to Rock Springs and Presidio, with over 400,000 people in it, and being the largest district in the United States, while over 90 per cent of the people are loyal, patriotic, dependable citizens standing solidly behind their flag, President, and Government, yet because of socialistic

propaganda and ignorance of conditions, there existed some disloyal, seditious sentiment, three men having already been sent to the Federal penitentiary for such crime, and, moreover, many boys from my district stationed at Camp Bowie were dying, and some at Camp Travis were dying, I went to my district and drove in an automobile, through freezing weather part of the time, over 100 miles a day, making two, three, four, and even five speeches a day, and making a personal inspection of conditions at said camps, and upon one day especially I remember I drove 167 miles from Abilene, Tex., to Junction, speaking at Ballinger, Paint Rock, Eden, and Junction in behalf of our Government policies, no politics, however, being in any of my speeches. On the 15th day of December I received a telegram from Dr. A. J. Barton, president of the Antisaloon League of Texas, from Washington, indicating that the prohibition cause might be embarrassed by my pair with Mr. Wilson, and asking me to wire Mr. KITCHIN to change pair to some one else provided Mr. Wilson could be induced to vote for prohibition. I immediately wired Mr. KITCHIN on December 15 that provided Mr. Wilson of Texas would support the prohibition amendment, then to change my pair to benefit the prohibition cause.

Also, on December 15 I wired Dr. A. J. Barton that I had complied with his request and had wired Mr. KITCHIN, authorizing him to change pair if Mr. Wilson of Texas would vote for prohibition, and that if necessary to count Mr. Wilson's vote for prohibition I would return immediately. On the 16th day of December, from Albany, I sent a telegram to Mr. Wilson of Texas, urging him as his colleague and particular friend since college days to support the prohibition amendment, thus permitting the States to pass upon the question once for all, and stated that if he would vote for prohibition to pair Mr. CHANDLER and myself with some other negative vote.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, may I have two minutes additional?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to speak for two minutes additional. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BLANTON. I received no reply from Mr. Wilson. Also, on December 16 I wired Mr. E. Y. WEBB, chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, that in case Mr. Wilson would vote for the prohibition amendment to pair Mr. CHANDLER and myself with some one else.

Also, on December 16 I wired Mr. GREGG, of Texas, and others, urging that they support the prohibition amendment.

I refer to pages 8683 and 8684 of the RECORD of last session for remarks I made on October 5, 1917, in favor of the passage of the national prohibition amendment and predicted that it would pass the House early in the December session. I missed only seven days' sessions of the House, as during my entire absence the House met only on the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th, and 18th days of December.

I will state, on the prohibition question I am further already on record. On April 9 I introduced a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 40) proposing an amendment for national prohibition, which is practically the same resolution introduced by Senator SHEPPARD that passed this House on the 18th of December, and on the 19th of April I introduced a bill (H. R. 3565) to suspend the manufacture of and all traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the war. On May 8 I introduced an amended bill (H. R. 4248) to suspend the manufacture of and all traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the war, and on May 9 I got Senator KENYON to introduce a copy of this last amended bill in the Senate. These matters, I take it, place me upon record on this question as being unalterably in favor of national prohibition, and I ask unanimous consent that these documents may go into the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting these telegrams, and so forth. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman's statement is sufficiently clear as to what the telegrams contain, and I object.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will withdraw his objection—

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman objects, and it is not debatable.

SANITARY CONDITIONS IN DIFFERENT ARMY CAMPS, ETC. (H. DOC. NO. 806).

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, at the request of some Members of the House of Representatives I ask unanimous consent that the report of Surg. Gen. Gorgas on the sanitary conditions in

the different Army camps and cantonments, as made to the Chief of Staff, be printed as a public document.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARD] asks unanimous consent that the report of Gen. Gorgas, Surgeon General of the Army, on the sanitary conditions of the various camps be printed as a public document. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I assume the gentleman means as a House document?

Mr. GARD. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, January 9, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting tentative draft of a provision of legislation to be included in some urgent deficiency bill (H. Doc. No. 766); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of War, submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Ordnance Department of the Army for the fiscal year 1918, on account of armament and fortifications (H. Doc. No. 767); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of harbor of refuge at Evanston, Ill. (H. Doc. No. 768); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting abstracts of proposals received during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, for material and labor in connection with works under the Engineer Department (H. Doc. No. 769); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. RAKER, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 234), which said joint resolution and report were referred to the House Calendar.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2810) granting a pension to Samuel Miller; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 5571) granting a pension to Thomas Maginnis; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 7564) granting a pension to Sally Speer Signor; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 6409) granting a pension to Mary E. Price; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 6897) granting a pension to George W. Hyland; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 8029) granting an increase of pension to John William Farrell; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 7558) granting an increase of pension to William A. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: A bill (H. R. 8420) authorizing the Federal control and operation of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DIXON: A bill (H. R. 8421) for the conservation of feedstuffs and alcohol; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DENTON: A bill (H. R. 8422) to amend section 401 of an act approved October 6, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 8423) to authorize the addition of certain lands to the Weiser National Forest, Idaho; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. MERRITT: A bill (H. R. 8424) to provide for the purchase of additional land for the enlargement of the site of the public building at Stamford, Conn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SCHALL: A bill (H. R. 8425) to increase the pension of Civil War veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SIEGEL: A bill (H. R. 8426) fixing the salary of the clerks of the United States district courts, prescribing how and when they shall account for the fees collected; providing for the office expenses of such clerks, including salaries of deputy clerks and clerical assistants; and for the travel and subsistence expense of such clerks and their deputies when necessarily absent from their official residences; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEELY: A bill (H. R. 8427) to amend an Act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, and an act entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1917; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8428) to relieve Congress from adjudication of private claims against the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FAIRFIELD: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 214) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States limiting suffrage to citizens of the United States only; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARY: A bill (H. R. 8430) to amend the Army Regulations; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 209) requesting the President to take over the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, and to improve and operate it for purposes of national defense; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RAKER: Resolution (H. Res. 213) for consideration of House joint resolution 200; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. REAVIS: Resolution (H. Res. 212) to provide for a service flag; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANTHONY: A bill (H. R. 8431) granting a pension to Frances Brady; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8432) granting an increase of pension to Richard Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 8433) granting a pension to George W. Willard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8434) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Hemmingway; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8435) granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Shriver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8436) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Sumpus; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARY: A bill (H. R. 8437) for the relief of Charles F. Johns; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8438) granting a pension to Louis K. Rohde; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 8439) granting a pension to Ella H. Garlock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DILLON: A bill (H. R. 8440) granting an increase of pension to Archibald Branaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOUGHTON: A bill (H. R. 8441) granting a pension to Jesse D. Nelson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DUPRÉ: A bill (H. R. 8442) granting a pension to Henry Rudolph; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FAIRFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8443) granting an increase of pension to John S. Lozier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8444) for the relief of Ira G. Kilpatrick and Guy D. Dill; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD: A bill (H. R. 8445) granting an increase of pension to Carpenter Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8446) granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Moak; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8447) granting an increase of pension to Chester P. Tryon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8448) granting an increase of pension to James Beyea; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8449) granting an increase of pension to Alvin W. Every; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8450) granting an increase of pension to Marcus W. Dewitt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8451) granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Pine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8452) granting an increase of pension to William F. Clapham; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FREAR: A bill (H. R. 8453) granting an increase of pension to William H. Adams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GREEN of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 8454) for the relief of John Weigart; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLAND: A bill (H. R. 8455) granting a pension to Hardy B. Liverman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8456) for the relief of The Ferries Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JACOWAY: A bill (H. R. 8457) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8458) granting an increase of pension to Alvin G. Woodworth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8459) granting an increase of pension to James R. Power; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8460) granting an increase of pension to William Douglas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8461) granting an increase of pension to William H. Simmons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8462) granting an increase of pension to George W. Burton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8463) granting an increase of pension to George W. Plank; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8464) granting an increase of pension to Jefferson D. Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8465) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Lee; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8466) granting a pension to Edward Reynolds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8467) granting a pension to Rebecca E. Skaggs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8468) granting a pension to Frank Thompson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8469) granting a pension to James A. Swain; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8470) granting a pension to William A. Pollard; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8471) for the relief of John Davis; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KEARNS: A bill (H. R. 8472) granting an increase of pension to Eli Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LONDON: A bill (H. R. 8473) for the relief of Thomas H. Rockwell, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PURNELL: A bill (H. R. 8474) granting a pension to Elizabeth Goodykoontz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8475) granting an increase of pension to Levi P. Fodrea; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8476) for the relief of Willard Thompson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RUCKER: A bill (H. R. 8477) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Wood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SANDERS of New York: A bill (H. R. 8478) for the relief of James P. Cornes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 8479) granting an increase of pension to Alexander H. McQueen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8480) granting an increase of pension to William Carpenter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 8481) granting an increase of pension to George Gardner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8482) granting a pension to Kate Frances Getts; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STRONG: A bill (H. R. 8483) granting an increase of pension to David R. Pringle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8484) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Lydick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8485) granting an increase of pension to John McDowell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHITE of Maine: A bill (H. R. 8486) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Frank S. Bowker; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WILLIAMS: A bill (H. R. 8487) granting an increase of pension to Elias Culbreth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOODS of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 8488) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin R. Brewer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ANTHONY: Petition of druggists of Topeka, Kans., and transmitted by Gov. Arthur Capper, of Kansas, favorable to the passage of House bill 5531; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Wesley F. P. Haas and other pharmacists of Leavenworth, Kans., favorable to the passage of House bill 5531; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BORLAND: Memorial of the Council of Administrative School Women, favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. CARY: Petition of Miss Mabel Search, chairman Milwaukee Branch National Woman's Party, signed by the following, who favor the passage of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment: Frank Haggerty, Fred Heath, John Abrams, Edna Peters, I. R. Diegle, Leo A. Wolfsohn, S. A. McIntosh, A. F. Krueger, W. C. Eichstaedt, F. J. Le Bean, Stanley Lutomski, Anton Kilhanek, Andrew Wiblean, Edmund T. Melms, Louis A. Arnold, Theo. Sweet, George Gauer, R. Wustrade, E. Haase, F. J. Hahn, Fred Wall, M. H. Whitaker, and Bert W. Wedereil; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, memorial of Dane County Equal Suffrage League, favoring the Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. CLASSON: Petition of women of Brown County, Wis., favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin: Petition of sundry citizens of Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, Rock, and Waukesha Counties, Wis., and of William H. Sommers and other members of the Trades and Labor Council, Racine, Wis., favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, resolution adopted at the Forty-fourth Annual Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, resolutions adopted by the Wisconsin Game Protective Association, at the convention in Madison, Wis., favoring the enactment of pending legislation better to conserve migratory birds; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition of National Union American Society of Equity, favoring Government control of railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of National League of Postmasters of United States, favoring increase in pay of fourth-class postmasters; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of National Council of Women, United States of America, favoring suffrage for women; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. DAVIDSON: Petition of men and women of the sixth congressional district of Wisconsin, in favor of the Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. ELSTON: Petition signed by 10,000 citizens of Oakland, Cal., urging increase of salaries for post-office clerks and carriers; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of prominent citizens of Berkeley, Cal., requesting pension legislation in aid of aged widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, resolution adopted by the Yugoslavs, Croats, Serbians, and Slovenes of Alameda County, Cal., approving the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary and pledging loyalty to the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Petition of Wisconsin Game Protective Association, favoring passage of House bill 2612, for better conservation of the valuable bird life of the country; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FOCHT: Evidence in support of House bill 8044, for the relief of Mrs. Mary E. Roland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FREEMAN: Petitions of Arthur H. Brewer and others, of New London County, Conn., favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of International Typographical Union, relative to salaries of printers in the New York post office; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of Bi-Lateral Fire Hose Co., of Chicago, Ill., favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Also, memorial of Philadelphia Trade Press Club, relative to second-class postage rates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of Eggleston Post No. 244, Department of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic, favoring increase of civil-war pensions; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KAHN: Papers to accompany H. R. 8365, granting a pension to Mrs. Marie Barisch; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany H. R. 8363, granting an increase of pension to Oscar Weil; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MERRITT: Petition of sundry citizens of Fairfield County, Conn., favoring the submission of the Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. O'SHAUNNESSY: Petition of sundry citizens of the State of Rhode Island, favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. RANDALL: Memorial of N. P. Banks Post, No. 170, Grand Army of the Republic, asking that pensions of Civil War veterans be doubled, to continue during the prevalence of high price of living; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, memorial of Ebell Club, of Fullerton, Cal., recommending early passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. SANDERS of New York: Petitions of the Medina Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Medina, N. Y., and the Women's Society of Batavia, N. Y., urging the adoption by Congress of a resolution to amend the Federal Constitution to prohibit polygamy and polygamous cohabitation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of a public meeting held in Medina, N. Y., a mass meeting held in Brockport, N. Y., and a mass meeting of women held in Lima, N. Y., urging the adoption by Congress of a resolution to amend the Federal Constitution to prohibit polygamy and polygamous cohabitation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Hulberton, N. Y., and the Methodist Episcopal Church of Clarendon, N. Y., urging the adoption by Congress of a resolution to amend the Federal Constitution to prohibit polygamy and polygamous cohabitation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHALL: Resolution adopted by the City Council of the city of Minneapolis, Minn., requesting Congress to enact a law providing for the punishment of those found guilty of impeding or interfering with the United States Government in the prosecution of the war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SIEGEL: Memorial of city of New York, against discontinuing pneumatic mail service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SNYDER: Petition of 1,000 farmers of Herkimer County, N. Y., against any unnecessary conscription of farm labor and in the interest of the production and conservation of food; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Common Council of Utica, N. Y., asking law restraining operations of certain persons in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Oneida County (N. Y.) Pomona Grange, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of members of Bacon Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Utica, N. Y., favoring increase of pensions for soldiers of the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Sturdevant & Co. and L. Hower & Son, of Rome, N. Y., against forcing the placing of orders for sugar with the American Sugar Refining Co.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STRONG: Petition of the employees of the Brookville post office, Brookville, Pa., favoring enactment of the Madden bill (H. R. 1654); to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. VOIGT: Petition of about 600 men and women of the second congressional district of Wisconsin, praying for the submission of the Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. WALTON: Petition of women of Colfax County, N. Mex., favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. WASON: Resolutions of Grafton County (N. H.) Rural Letter Carriers' Association, favoring increased compensation to rural carriers; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, January 9, 1918.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we address ourselves to our task day after day with the assurance that Thou art leading us on. When we stand for the sacredness of contracts we are sure that we stand with Thee, who hast entered into a covenant with men, and Thy word has never been broken. When we stand for the rights of men, the great and the small alike, we stand with Thee who hast made of one blood all men who dwell on all the face of the earth and hast fixed the bounds of their habitation. And when we stand for universal liberty we stand not only for the impulses of our own hearts but for that law which Thou hast written upon our hearts, the law of love and of justice and of right. So we bless God we stand with Thee in the great world conflict. Lead Thou us on. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore assumed the chair.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 106) extending until January 1, 1919, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled joint resolution (S. J. Res. 106) extending until January 1, 1919, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, and it was thereupon signed by the President pro tempore.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. MYERS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Montana, praying for a reduction in the present appraisement of lands on the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, in that State, which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a petition of the Pattern Makers' Local Association, of Detroit, Mich., praying for an increase in the salaries of post-office employees, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I present a petition signed by a large number of newspaper publishers in favor of Senate joint resolution 101, known as the Smith resolution, providing for Government control of print paper by the Federal Trade Commission.

The newspaper publishers from every State in the Union except one have signed a separate petition and forwarded it through the American Press Association, expressing earnest support of Senate joint resolution 101, and urging Senators and Representatives in Congress to give it early consideration. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Printing.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COLT presented resolutions signed by the governor and sundry other citizens of Rhode Island, and resolutions adopted by the Equal Suffrage Leagues of Newport County, Pawtucket Valley, Narragansett, Warren, Jamestown, North Providence, North Kingstown, and Smithfield, in the State of Rhode Island, praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to

the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PHELAN presented a memorial of the Labor Council of San Francisco, Cal., remonstrating against the importation of Chinese to this country to be used as farm laborers, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of Local Branch, National Association of Letter Carriers, of Alameda, Cal., praying for an increase in the salaries of postal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 3433) requiring the Government to furnish uniforms to officers of the Army, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3434) prohibiting the issuance of patent under lien selection 2904, serial 1034, Olympia, Wash.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 3435) authorizing the issuance of patent to the Pioneer Educational Society and its successors for certain lands in the diminished Colville Indian Reservation, State of Washington; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 3436) to accept from the Southern Oregon Co., a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Oregon, a reconveyance of the lands granted to the State of Oregon by the act approved March 3, 1869, entitled "An act granting lands to the State of Oregon to aid in the construction of a military wagon road from the navigable waters of Coos Bay to Roseburg in said State," commonly known as the Coos Bay Wagon Road grant, to provide for the disposition of said lands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 3437) granting a pension to Louise R. Hanley (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GEIRY:

A bill (S. 3438) to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

By Mr. MYERS:

A bill (S. 3439) for the relief of certain homestead and desert-land entrymen; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. FRANCE:

A bill (S. 3440) to authorize the President to further mobilize the Federal forces and to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KENDRICK:

A bill (S. 3441) granting an increase of pension to Richard McDermott; and

A bill (S. 3442) granting a pension to Alice C. Baker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 3443) granting a pension to Catharine A. Kanouff; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THILLMAN:

A bill (S. 3444) for the relief of certain pay officers of the United States Navy;

A bill (S. 3445) to authorize the payment of gun pointers and gun captains while temporarily absent from their regular stations, and for other purposes; and

*A bill (S. 3446) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1917; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLIS:

A bill (S. 3447) granting an increase of pension to George L. Danforth (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHERMAN:

A bill (S. 3448) granting the consent of Congress to the village of East Dundee and the village of West Dundee to construct a bridge across the Fox River; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

A bill (S. 3449) granting a pension to Charles D. Jackson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GORE:

A bill (S. 3450) to establish experiment stations in engineering and in the other branches of the mechanic arts in connection with the colleges established in the several States and Territories under the provisions of an act approved July 2, 1862, and